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OF THE
HYDERABAD ARCHÆOLOGICAL
SOCIETY



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PATRON

**His Exalted Highness Asaf Jah, Muzaffar-ul-Mulk
wal Mamalik, Nizam-ul-Mulk, Nizam-ud-Daula,
Nawab Sir Mir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, Fateh
Jang, the Faithful Ally of the British Government,
G.C.I.E., G.B.E.**

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JANUARY.

I

MONSIEUR RAYMOND.

BY A. G. McCLAY, M.R.A.S.

(Paper read on 8th September, 1917.)

THE story of Monsieur Raymond carries us back to the tumultuous times of the eighteenth century, when the conditions of life in India were strange and startling and it was possible for a stout, free heart to set the bounds of its own wide horizon. It was the olden time, "Ere human statute purged the gentle weal", as Macbeth says.

Michel Joachim Marie Raymond, or Francois Raymond as he is sometimes named, was born at Serignac in Gascony in March 1755. Following in the footsteps of his father, who was a merchant, the son determined to establish a business in India. Accordingly he set out in January 1775, when he was barely twenty years old, from Lorient for Pondicherry.* But he soon exchanged the pen for the sword.

* I may here draw attention to a misconception which occurs sometimes with reference to Raymond and Pondicherry. In J. H. Grosse's *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. II, page 397, it is stated that General Lally, writing from Pondicherry on the 2nd January 1761, when British ships were blockading the harbour during the siege, requested Raymond, who was then French Resident at the Dutch settlement of Pollent, to send "challinques upon chalingoes loaded with rice" to Pondicherry. The letter was intercepted by the British and Pondicherry surrendered to them a fortnight later. Grosse is quite correct but, of course, it is not Michel Raymond that he refers to: our hero was about 6 years old then. I am indebted to the Rev. Father H. Colli for the reference to Grosse.

In 1778 Great Britain declared war with the French Government, who were openly abetting the revolted colonies in North America. On receipt of the news the authorities at Fort St. George despatched a force to besiege Pondicherry, which capitulated after a respectable defence; and Raymond, with Lally and other adventurous men, resorted to Mysore, where he enrolled in the service of Haidar Ali, the usurper of that State and irreconcilable enemy of the British. He joined Haidar Ali as a Sub-Lieutenant in the battalion commanded by Chevalier de Lassé, and with this regiment he fought throughout the campaigns of the war which began in 1780 against the British for the possession of South India.

In 1783 the famous Patissier, known in Indian history as "Marquis de Bussy-Castelnau," had returned, under orders from Louis XVI, to the country where he won so much distinction twenty years before, and he was now, with shattered health and a mind enfeebled by long years of high living and plain thinking, engaged in a hopeless contest with Sir Eyre Coote, the famous general who had fought under Clive at Plassy. Raymond's old employer, Haidar Ali, having died recently, the Frenchman, who was now a captain, was free to accept an appointment that was offered to him, in 1783, as *aide-de-camp* on Bussy's staff. He participated in all actions under Bussy, with whom he remained until the latter's death at Pondicherry in January 1785. Raymond then betook himself to the capital of the Nizam, where, according to Keene, he first joined Basalat Jang, the Nizam's brother. In any case, in 1786 he entered the service of the Nizam, succeeding the younger Lally, a nephew of the famous

general, who also had passed from Basalat Jang to the Nizam.

Up to this time Raymond could claim no great distinction as a soldier, but he possessed temper, talent and character, all of which had become known and, in the time and circumstances open to him, eventually raised him to a position in Hyderabad similar to that which de Boigne created for himself in the North. The Subedar of the Deccan had never been without French officers in his service since the palmy days of Bussy, in 1751. Before Raymond's arrival at Hyderabad, the foreign adventurers employed by the Nizam constituted a single corps of cavalry. Raymond conceived the idea of raising and drilling in European fashion a large body of native troops, who would be officered by the Europeans already in the service of the State. He began with three hundred men, and we are told that he hired their arms from a French merchant of the town at the rate of eight annas, or one shilling and three pence, per weapon per mensem. When the confederate war against Tipu broke out, in 1790, Raymond had seven hundred men, with whom he distinguished himself sufficiently to win the favour of the Nizam, who permitted the corps to expand to 5,000 and raised Raymond's pay to Rs. 5,000 a month: and early in 1795 Raymond had at least 11,000 well-disciplined troops, commanded by one hundred and twenty-four European officers. He worked hard to mature this force, for the maintenance of which he secured substantial territorial assignments; but, as we shall see, their principal attempt in the field was unfortunate.

In the Deccan the year 1795 was rendered memor-

able by a great battle between the Nizam and the Mahrattas. There were many old-standing questions for settlement between the two parties, and latterly Nizam Ali of Hyderabad had been in dispute with the Mahrattas over their demand for the *chauth*, or fourth part of the revenues, of Bidar. Moreover, it was an open secret that the Mahrattas aspired to complete mastery over the Nizam, and in the background there loomed with disquieting persistency a threatened alliance between them and Tipu. But their own house was not in order, and the unsettled condition of affairs at the court of the Peshwa aroused the ambition of the Nizam, who was induced to believe that this was a suitable opportunity to revive the power of the Muhammadan rule in Poona. The relations existing at that time between the Nizam and the East India Company were not all that could be desired : they may be described briefly as an alliance that entailed certain governmental responsibilities on the latter, but held no commercial advantages for a trading company. The Nizam requested that the British Subsidiary Force with which he was conditionally supplied should be augmented and made available for offensive purposes, basing his request on the 10th article of the Treaty of Paungul (Pangal), 1790. But the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, desired to keep aloof from this internecine quarrel. The treaty had been designed to secure a combination of the English, Mahrattas and the Nizam against the machinations of Tipu, and Sir John Shore held, very wrongly as we know, that the defection of one of the parties from a tripartite alliance, offensive and defensive, cancelled the obligation of the remaining party. He assured



THE NEZAM'S CAMP ON COMING INTO IT.—FROM THE M'KENZIE DRAWINGS, EAST INDIA HOUSE.

the Nizam that the Company would fulfil all their obligations under existing treaties, but that their troops could not be used for other than mediatorial offices. Dissatisfied with this reply, the Nizam had perforce to resort to his domestic levies under the command of Raymond. Including Raymond's troops, the Nizam assembled an army of 42,540 infantry, 44,650 cavalry and one hundred and eight guns, and on the 10th March 1793 advanced from Bidar, along the banks of the Manjra, to the Mahratta frontier (Plate I). Great things were expected from this war, which was extremely popular with the Mughals. The soldiers indulged in the wildest gasconade, and it would seem from Persian and Mahratta manuscripts that even the Prime Minister forgot his dignity so far as to say, before a public assembly, "that the Mughals should be freed from the Mahratta encroachments, that they should recover Bijapur and Khandesh, or they would never grant peace until they had despatched the Peshwa to Benares, with his cloth about his loins and a pot of water in his hand, to mutter incantations on the banks of the Ganges."

To meet the invasion the Peshwa summoned his vassal chieftains and faced the foe with an army of 73,600 infantry, 38,000 cavalry and 192 guns, including, according to Malleson, about 18,000 troops from the French brigades of Perron, Filose, and others. Besides, there were 10,000 Pindaris. The battle is notable as the last occasion on which the old struggles that began under Aurangzeb attained a historical character. It was also the last occasion on which the great standard of the Mahratta empire floated over a united confederacy. On the one side marched the descendant of Chin Qalich, leading

a vast force of the old, mediæval kind, and on the other side the Mahratta chiefs assembled, as they would never assemble again, under the banner of the Peshwa. The two armies met midway between the forts of Kardla and Parenda, about sixty miles from Ahmadnagar and a few marches south-east of Poona, which city would have been at the mercy of the Mughals if they had prevailed over the Mahrattas. There is some difference of opinion about the exact date of the battle. Malleson and Duff contend that it took place on the 12th March 1795, but other historians, including Fraser and Hollingberry, who were at Hyderabad a few years after the event, favour the 11th as the correct date. The Mahratta army was encamped on the slopes of the Parenda pass, the artillery being skilfully disposed on the heights above, while the Mughals occupied the plain between the pass and the village of Kardla. The Mughals had the disadvantage of advancing from lower ground; but they commanded space for cavalry operations, and when the advanced guards of the two armies met the Mughal horsemen by a bold dash rolled up the Mahratta right and centre. But while they were pressing forward to the support of Raymond, whose infantry has engaged Perron's troops, they were assailed by Raghupi Bhonsla with a shower of rockets and had to face some round shot from Perron's guns. This routed the Mughal cavalry. At the other end of the line Raymond's infantry had progressed steadily, encountering a heavy fire from Perron's batteries on the heights, and the battle developed into a duel between the two Frenchmen, Raymond endeavouring to storm the pass and

Perron determined to defend it. The equipoise of western skill and methods might have made the result of the battle less decisive if Raymond, who by then had obtained some advantage over Perron's battalions, had not been ordered to retire. After the Asiatic manner, the aged Nizam trusted only to his cavalry. He had taken alarm at their flight and insisted on retreat, and Raymond's escort being essential to cover it, the latter was obliged to withdraw unwillingly from the contest. But he effected his retirement in good order. It is not easy to determine exactly why the retreat was carried to the gates of Kardla fort: perhaps the fate of the battle was decided by one of those domestic considerations which often had a preponderating influence in Asiatic contests. It is clear, however, that on the following day the Nizam and his ladies were secure in the small fortress, which was invested by the Mahratta army. Briggs, Mill, Marshman and others incline to the opinion that the Nizam entered the fort under the influence of the ladies, for according to the custom of the time the royal *harem* went with the camp; and Beveridge asserts that the favourite lady took fright and threatened to break her *goshis* if the Nizam did not instantly seek the shelter of the fort. Duff gives us another version of the affair. He says that the Mughal army bivouaced on the plain, some distance from the scene of the day's operations. During the night a small patrol of Mahrattas in search of water for their horses came to a stream where lay an outpost of the Mughals, who instantly fired on them. Raymond's sentries, who were a little behind, also fired, and the whole line, suddenly awakened from sleep, discharged

their muskets in an irregular volley. This occasioned a general alarm, and the Nizam with the ladies in great consternation sought safety in the fort. And so the day was lost. The Nizam's army had retreated without fighting a battle or even suffering anything worthy of being called discomfiture. Duff calculated that scarcely two hundred men were lost on both sides in the actual battle, though a larger number of Mughals was killed in the retreat and during the defence of the fort, in which Raymond's troops had to face odds. Fraser asserted that the total casualties did not amount to more than 3,000. After two days in the fort the Nizam sought and obtained cessation of arms, and came to peace with the Mahrattas on terms which they dictated. He agreed to pay three crores of rupees, besides ceding territory yielding a revenue of thirty-five lakhs a year, namely, Daulatabad, the key of the Deccan, and such part of those districts occupied by Sadashiv Rao Bhao in 1700 as had been restored to Nizam Ali. As a pledge for the fulfilment of those stringent terms the Nizam had to deliver as hostage his Minister, Azim-ul Umrah, better known as Mir Alam. The treaty was concluded on the 13th March 1795, and the Nizam returned to Hyderabad in the following May.

The Mahrattas had gained a great victory. For the time the Nizam was completely at their mercy, and it was only the internal partisan troubles of the Mahrattas that restrained them later on from further aggression. Indeed, the unhappy movements of this war would have utterly destroyed the Mughal power in the Deccan had not two events happened soon

after to relax the tension, viz., the rebellion of the heir-apparent, Ali Jah, in June 1795 and the death of the Peshwa in October that year. The demise occasioned great dissensions at Poona over the choice of a new Peshwa, and in the intrigues that followed Mir Alam succeeded in obtaining his release from Puresham Bhao, who was then chief minister, and in having reduced to one-fourth the indemnity imposed at Kardla.

During the Nizam's absence in the field the battalions of sepoy provided by the East India Company had been employed in preserving the tranquility of the city against neighbouring semindars. But the Nizam was incensed by the neutrality of the British, and in June 1795 he requested to be relieved of the sepoy battalions and ordered large increases in Raymond's troops, for the support of which he assigned the district of Karpah, on the frontier of the Company's possessions. In this matter, however, the British intervened, for Raymond was known to be in close touch with France and Tipu, and to leave him master of Karpah would have enabled him to cooperate with any French force making a descent on the Coromandal coast, with or without the permission of the Nizam. All together, the policy of the Nizam after the campaign might have changed the course of history if immediate local and family needs had not necessitated the recall of the sepoys, for even if they could not be used to disturb the judicious political balance of the Deccan, they gave that prince importance as well as security.

The Nizam's heir-apparent, Ali Jah, for some time had lived in disgrace at his father's court.

On the night of the 28th June 1795 he escaped from the capital and fled to Bidar, where he seized the fort and was joined by Sadashivrao Reddy, the Zemindar of Medak, and Nizam-ul-Mulk, the Subedar of Hyderabad and son-in-law of the Nizam. He soon collected a following under his standard and was able to present a somewhat formidable front of quite 20,000 horse and foot to his outraged parent. Raymond's next service was in suppressing this rebellion. He did not have much trouble in doing so. After a few skirmishes Ali Jah fled to Aurangabad, where he was captured. He committed suicide on the way to Hyderabad as a prisoner. Fraser says the event occurred on the 22nd November 1795 at Khair, on the banks of the Godavery, and that it was due to the prince swallowing pounded diamonds. According to Hollingberry, who was at the Residency in 1797, Sadashivrao Reddy was confined in Golconda and his *jagir* was given to Raymond. Very soon after Dara Jah, another son of the Nizam, rebelled at Raichur, but this was reduced by an English detachment under Colonel James Dalrymple.

In 1796 Raymond was appointed Amin Jinsai, or Comptroller of Ordnance, the whole of which department was to be under his expert guidance. He made his own guns and ammunition, and in the *Top ka Sancha*, near the Fath Maidan, we have the remains of the best known of his foundries (Plate II).

Raymond was a great intriguer and was therefore courted by all parties. Being imbued with the socialistic and revolutionary opinions of the French at home, he was prepared to assist in any enterprise by which France might gain a footing in India. In the play of



RAYMOND'S GIN FOR MRS. FATH MAHDI.

conflicting interests in the court of the Nizam, Raymond found ample scope for the exercise of his ingenuity. Apart from such excitements he pursued his life useful service until his death, quite suddenly and in the plenitude of his power, on the 25th March 1798, in time to be spared the pain of seeing the abolition of the trained force for which he had done so much. For the times were critical and Lord Mornington, who had just assumed the office of Governor-General, which he was afterwards to render so illustrious under his later title of Marquis of Wellesley, had a grave combination to encounter. Zaman Shah, the Afghan monarch of Kabul, threatened to invade India : the zealot Tipu in Mysore was scheming to gratify his vindictiveness : in Hindustan the French general Perron, a good soldier but feeble politician, had taken the place of the friendly DeBogne, whose administration was both equitable and vigilant : in the Deccan an unscrupulous traitor, Baji Rao Peshwa, held power at Poona : and in Hyderabad no dependance could be placed on any alliance with the Nizam until his French connexions had been severed. There was no time for sentiment. The Minister, Mir Alam, on his return to Hyderabad had been alarmed at the ascendancy which the French officers gained during his absence. He resumed the lands allotted for their maintenance and several times proposed to the Resident the substitution of a subsidiary force for the French battalions. The proposals were negatived by the then Governor-General, Sir John Shore, but Lord Mornington welcomed the opportunity to arrive at some stability so far, at least, as the Nizam was concerned. Accordingly a treaty was concluded on the 1st Septem-

ber 1798, which stipulated that, in return for an annual payment of twenty-four lakhs by the State, the British subsidiary force would be increased to 6,000 infantry and a proportion of artillery; that the French corps were to be disbanded and the officers made over to the British Government to be returned to Europe as prisoners of war. It was realised that the disbandonment of the corps was fraught with difficulties and a certain amount of danger, and to guard against eventualities, two detachments of British troops under Colonels Roberts and Hyndman took up positions in front and rear of the French lines on the 20th October, 1798. On the following day the Nizam's orders were read. The result was a mutiny in the lines and the French officers were made prisoners by their own men. As a matter of fact the proclamation only hastened the insurrection, for the men had not been paid for some time and were already on the verge of rebellion. Captain Malcolm, who lived to be the most famous of all soldier-diplomats, undertook the delicate office of seeing the thing through. On the 22nd October Colonel Roberts moved his soldiers closer up in front of the French lines, while Colonel Hyndman was in the rear and parties of cavalry guarded both flanks. When the mutineers were assured that their arrears of pay would be forthcoming they surrendered to their officers and walked out of their lines, leaving their arms behind them. About 15,000 men with an efficient park of artillery were thus disbanded, and we have the authority of Temple for the statement that the Imrat Lal Corps, so named after its Commander, was formed not of the disbanded force.

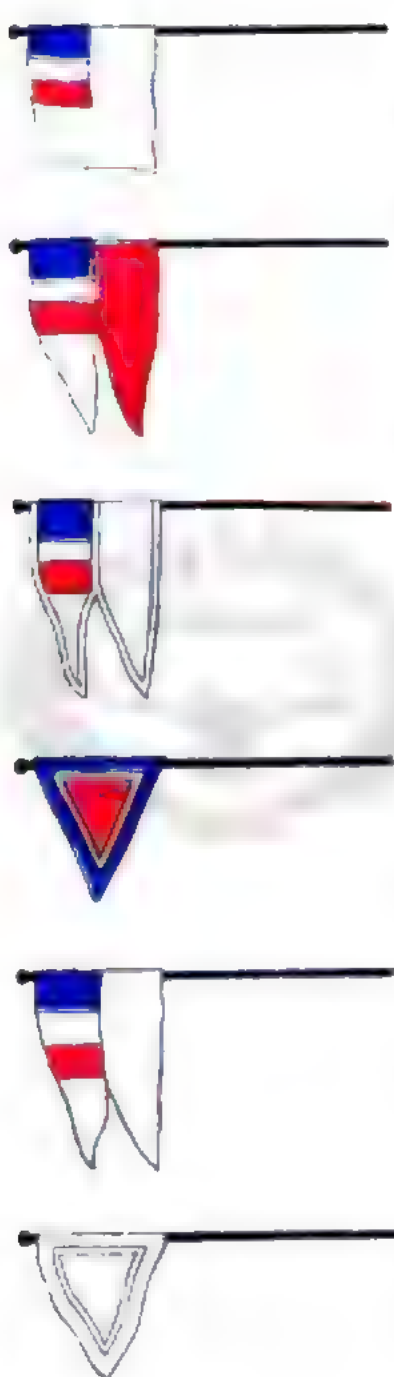


FIGURE 1. THE SEVEN OF THE SEVEN. FROM THE ALKENTIC DRAWINGS, LATE INDIA HOUSE.

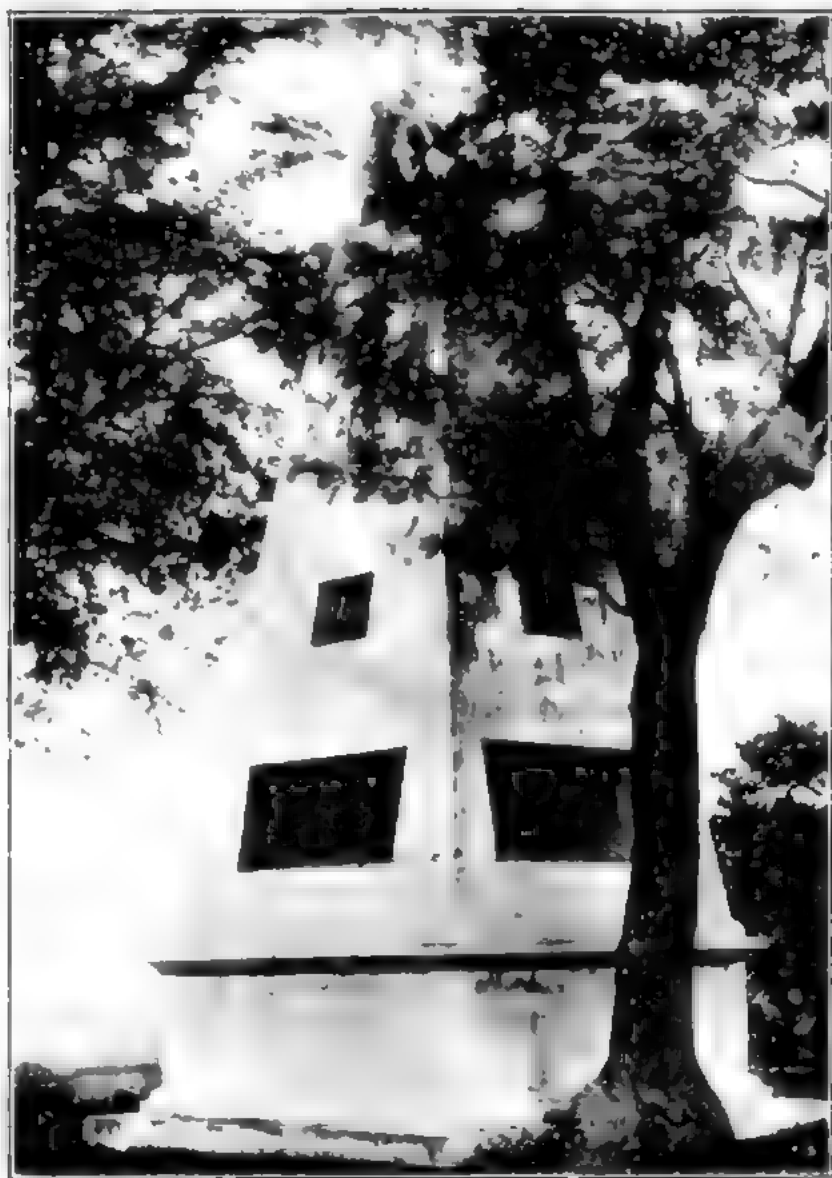
So ended the work of Michel Raymond. He was a true son of France. His army, commanded by men of the most pronounced and notorious principles of Jacobinism, was the basis of the French party in India. Indeed, Raymond affected to consider his soldiers as a body of French troops, employed and subsidized by the Nizam. He was received in his own cantonments with a royal salute: his soldiers wore the cap of liberty engraved on their buttons: and his regimental returns were headed "Corps Francois de Raymond."* The one dream of his life was to develop the schemes of Dupleix, of Lally and of Suffren. He deserves to be ranked with those warriors in the hierarchy of patriotic Frenchmen. Kirkpatrick, Beatson, Fraser, the Marquis of Wellesley speak of him more or less adversely; Thorn, Kaye, Keene, Malcolm, Marshman, Beveridge, Holingberry, are fair; and Malleison, who collected and digested his facts on the spot, concludes his eulogy by saying: "No European of mark who preceded him, no European of mark who followed him in India, ever succeeded in gaining to such an extent the love, the esteem, the admiration of the natives of the country." Undoubtedly he was a product of his age, but there is ample evidence that he was brave and affable, and possibly generous, and to great mental abilities he united the most consummate prudence. Starting from a humble beginning he rose to immense political power. It is true that he succeeded to a very eminent position by favour of fortune and intrigue, but he held and improved his station by his own energy and determination. The process of rehabilitation is never easy. Judged

* See Plate III. One of Raymond's Sags is preserved at Bidar.

by the standards of one century the noblest characters of an earlier one lose much of their lustre, while the baser reputations become refined with the passing of time ; judged by the standards of to-day there is probably no illustrious man of three or four centuries ago whose actions could meet the test at all points. And although Raymond's character has been variously estimated, and it is difficult now to say which way the balance lies, at least he claims as much from our generosity as from our impartiality. I have not attempted to investigate the causes which gave him his hold on the affections of the people, but the fact remains that by Hindus he is venerated as *Musa Ram* and by Muhammadans as *Musa Rahim*, and on each anniversary of his death a large fair is held, when his tomb is illuminated and salutes are fired in his honour by the irregular troops. Truly, nowhere is Carlyle's doctrine of hero-worship better illustrated than in India, for the history of the country is a history not of institutions but of men, the leaders, religious and secular, of the people from age to age.

On the Myseram* Tekkedy, a little to the south of Usnangarh, stands the simple monument which keeps his memory fresh in countless hearts who honour the man their forefathers loved. The hill, which rises 100 feet above the level of the surrounding country, is about half a mile from the French Gardens

* The word Myseram, as we are told, represents the old native pronunciation of the name *Monsieur Raymond*, and I have seen it stated that the Myseram regiment was named after Raymond. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk tells me that the formation of this regiment by Sir Salar Jung I, some time in the seventies, is within his personal recollection, and that the regiment took its name from the Myseram village, which lies about ten miles south of Hyderabad. I have not been able to ascertain whether, in earlier days, the village was named after Raymond.



RAYMOND'S TOMB : THE OBELISK.

where Raymond lived with his officers. The tomb is an obelisk of black granite, standing in the centre of a masonry platform 180 feet long and 83 feet wide (Plate IV). There is no lengthy inscription to commemorate the worth of the departed, although four slabs were let in, one on each face of the obelisk, apparently for the purpose (Plate V). Above each of these slabs is a small tablet bearing the initials "J. R.," surely a very simple equivalent for those two narrow words *hic jacet*. To the west of the obelisk, about twenty-five feet away, is a small flat roofed building, supported by twenty-eight pillars, forming a shrine similar to a Grecian temple. It is said to cover Raymond's viscera. On the pediment of this building is a carving of the Nizam's flag, surmounted by a cross (Plate IV). Standing on the platform one obtains a pleasing view of the surrounding country, with a spirit of insistent peace brooding over the scene. Wide fields with softly swelling lines lead the eye through a mixed profusion of derelict gardens, housetops, minarets and domes, to the belt of low-lying hills rising on their verge. On one green mountain stands Falaknuma; Golconda names another; while to the west the city of Hyderabad spreads out in dim confusion. To the north lie the suburbs of Chaddarghat, with Secundarabad and Trimulgherry forming a distant continuation of the view, and on the east is Sarurnagar, enlivened by a fine sheet of water. The place is a remnant of the older world, of the quiet sequestered existence of the countryside. Everything seems to be living the untroubled life of nature, with no thought of death, or care or sorrow. And there we part from him, in the midst of the sur-

roundings where he lived and laboured, taking with us an impression of tranquilising beauty for the mind to traffic with, rid of the tiresome complexities that so often poison retrospect, leaving only the pure residue of sympathetic thought.

OLD MASULIPATAM.*

BY T. STREENIVAS.

Masulipatam, the head-quarters of the present District of Kistna in the Presidency of Madras, is of interest to us, not only as one of those places where the early European traders established themselves, but also as having once been under the sway of the Nizams of Hyderabad.

Some authorities suggest that *Masolia*, the port mentioned by ancient Greek geographers on the Coromandel Coast, as having been the point to which caravan traffic extended from Persia and the emporium where ships sailed to the "Golden Chersonese," may possibly be the modern Masulipatam. A legend has it that Masulipatam was founded in the 14th century by a colony of Arabs (Orme). In the days of the East India Company it was known as "Metchlepatam" and is now called "Machileepattanamu" in Telugu, the Sanskrit name being "Matayapuri" or "the Fish City." The following legend accounts for such a name :—

In ancient days there lived a fisherman here who used to put out to sea every evening immediately

* Based on facts gathered from Grant's *Political Survey of the Northern Circars, 5th Report*, Kistna *District Manual*, *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Bernier's *Travels*, Tavernier's *Travels in India*, &c., and personal investigation.

after dusk, and after fishing the whole night return home early in the morning with his catch, which his women would take to the market for sale. When he grew old he retired from this active life, his place being taken by his five sons whom he had already trained to his occupation. The sons also used to work at night returning home in the morning with the fruits of their labour, their wives disposing of the fish in the market. The old man, now a widower, used to be served his meals by his daughters-in-law. By degrees the old man began complaining to his daughters-in-law while they served him his meals that his sons were growing lazy, that the fish they brought home were very small and that in his days he would have been ashamed to return home with such poor hauls. The women at first ignored these grumbings of the old man, who they thought had grown senile, but when his grunts and growls became unbearable, they informed the young men of their father's bitter complaints. The poor fellows, who were really doing their best, thereupon asked the old man to explain his conduct. Their straight talk riled the old man who called them idlers and vagabonds and told them that he would go with them to sea and show them what he could do. He ordered them to procure a big pot and plenty of oil and with some rags of cloth he made a stout wick which he kept soaked in the oil. That evening at the usual time he started with all his sons, taking the oil pot with the wick in it in the boat. After going far out to sea he lit the wick which began to burn brightly. After a short time a huge monster of a fish with fierce dazzling eyes rose out of the deep at a distance and made its way towards them. They immediately

tunnel and hurried back, being greatly helped by the tremendous waves caused by the oncoming rush of the monster itself. At last quite exhausted they reached the beach with the monster almost at their heels. The fish chased them so impetuously that when the unusual waves reached high up the beach they receded leaving the fish stranded there. When the news of this reached the town, the people flocked to the beach to view this strange visitor from the sea. It was then hoisted on many carts and dragged into the town with great ceremony where it was sold by the old fisherman for a fabulous sum. This monster fish was so big that its eye-bones were large enough to be set up as gates in front of the town. From this time the city was called "Matsyapuri."

Historically, Masulipatam is heard of for the first time in 1425, when, under the tolerant auspices of the Carnatic Rajas who were at war with the Bahmani kings of the Deccan, a mosque was built at Masulipatam, probably for the use of the Muhammadan soldiers who were then freely entertained by Hindu princes.

The first Musalman king to bring Masulipatam under his sway was Muhammad Shah Bahmani II of Kulburgah who in 1478, in person, reduced Masulipatam with all its dependent country. After him the country came under the Orissa Rajas. Then being conquered by the great Carnatic king, Krishna Raya, was finally taken possession of by the Musalman king of Golconda, Sultan Quli Qutb Shah, one of the five powerful nobles under the old Bahmani kingdom who after its fall assumed the regal title in 1518 and founded the Qutb Shahi dynasty.

When during the reign of Ibrahim Qutb Shah, (1550 to 1580) there was a coalition of his enemies of Bidar, Bijapur, Vijianagar and Orissa against him, his territories were attacked on all sides and Masulipatam itself was attacked and occupied in 1557 by Siddhuraja Timmappa, governor of Kondapalli. This was merely a temporary inroad. Ibrahim Qutb Shah then laboured hard and impressed upon the other Muhammadan kings the need for union against the now powerful Vijianagar which was a common danger, whereupon a "League of the Faithful" was formed under the leadership of Bijapur. In 1565 the combined forces of Bijapur, Golkonda, Ahmadnagar and Bidar fought and crushed the Raja of Vijianagar at the famous battle of Talikota. The strong fortress of Kondavidu was taken in 1579, after which the Hindu rule in the Kistna District practically came to an end.

The first mention of European traders establishing themselves at Masulipatam is found during the reign of Muhammad Shah (1580 to 1612). "The Portuguese may have been the earliest and the Dutch the second nation to occupy this field, but the first English venture was in the year 1611, when an agency was established at Masulipatam on behalf of the East India Company." The *Globe* was the first ship belonging to the Company to touch at Masulipatam. Thence she departed laden with cotton cloths and other delicate fabrics for Bantam and Siam. A profitable business was done in selling Masulipatam goods in Sumatra and the Spice Islands. This traffic proved so profitable that in 1627 the Batavia Council recommended that 300,000 rials* in money

should be sent annually to Masulipatam for gold and camphor and spices. But when Sultan Abdullah Qutb Shah became king in 1626, his officers appear to have thrown obstacles in the way of the English trade, probably at the instigation of the Dutch, and in 1628 the English were forced to remove to Armagon, on the Nellore Coast, where a factory had been founded some years previously. However, in 1632, the English succeeded in securing a Firman known as the "Golden Firman" from the Sultan of Golconda, permitting them to re-open their agency at Masulipatam and to trade at other ports in his dominions. The Agency was now raised to the rank of a Factory. Two years later another Firman was obtained extending the first.

The possession of these Firmans did not free the English from local hindrances, for the Dutch appear to have still been able to thwart and annoy their European rivals. The seat of government was removed from Masulipatam to Madras in 1641, which though a recent establishment assumed more importance than Masulipatam. The wars between the King of Golconda and the Hindu Rajas probably contributed a great deal to the decline of the trade at Masulipatam.

About this time Tavernier describes Masulipatam as "a straggling town (*village*) in which the houses are built of wood, and are detached from one another. This place, which is on the seashore, is only renowned on account of its anchorage, which is the best

* Former English gold coin, *rupee* or *rupia*, worth during Queen Elizabeth's time 17s. or 16s.

in the Bay of Bengal, and it is the only place from which vessels sail for Pegu, Siam, Arakan, Bengal, Cochin China, Mecca and Hormuz, as also for the islands of Madagascar, Sumatra and the Manillas."

About cotton cloths Tavernier says:—"The *chutes* (chintzes) or painted cotton cloths which are called *calmendar*, that is to say, made with a brush, are made in the kingdom of Golconda, and especially in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam; but the quantity made is so small that when one places in requisition all the workers who make these cotton cloths, it is with difficulty that he can obtain as much as three bales."

At the minute of consultation at Masulipatam, dated 4th December 1655: "it was agreed that 30 old Pagodas should be allowed to Mr. Edward Winter to uphold the Company's houses at Metchlepatam....." This gives us an idea as to how much trade must have then declined at Masulipatam at this period.

Fernandez Naverette, a Dominican friar, who visited Masulipatam in 1670 on his return voyage from China to Europe, says about it:—"The city of Masulipatam is famous all along the Coast of Coromandel. It is situated 60 leagues north of Madrastra, a very populous place and of great trade. The English and Dutch and at present the French have erected factories there. Some years ago, besides these, the Danes had one too.....The climate is very bad and unhealthy. They said the heat from April to August was intolerable; all the country abounds in wheat, rice, sheep, hens, geese,

fish and fruit, at reasonable rates....The city is singular and there being such a diversity of natives, there falls out something new every day among Persians, Armenians, Moors, etc. That city resembles Babel in the variety of tongues and differences of garbs and customs, but I liked the natural inclinations of them all."

About this time Masulipatam was a busy commercial centre. The staple export was cloth "weaved and dyed" in the villages in Kistna and Godavari. There are references to saltpetre, turmeric, all sorts of spices and miscellaneous articles such as spotted deer and water fowl for His Majesty Charles II. The imports included all sorts of goods manufactured in England among which broadcloth and superfine scarlet and green cloth, seem to have been most appreciated by the natives of this country. The Company also had an agent at Golconda for the purchase of diamonds, a Mr. Cholmely, who was from time to time accused of engaging in private trade.

It is interesting to learn in this connection that the Company allowed private trade in certain commodities, setting apart 5 per cent. of the tonnage of each ship for the private ventures of the Commander and Seamen. The Chief at Masulipatam was permitted to send home 3 tons, all others of Council 2 tons, and the Factors not in Council 1 ton each. It is no wonder then that this private trade clashed with their duty to the Company. Further their salaries were so utterly inadequate—a writer got £ 10 per annum, and a factor £ 20—that the private trade was what they looked to as their livelihood and their position as servants of the Company was valued only for the

facilities it afforded them to carry on this private trade. The following incident will give an idea of the profits these servants of the Company must have been making. Mr. Mohun as the Chief of Masulipatam was receiving £100 per annum and when he was dismissed from the Company's service he gave notice to sue the Company for £ 100,000 damages for wrongful dismissal!

The Directors of the Company also seem to have taken a sort of paternal interest in their servants, for, we find that the orders of the Directors in London were explicit that their married servants were to reside in houses provided by the Company and that the unmarried men were to dine at a common table with "a steward appointed to order their table, that it doth not exceed their allowance."

About 1672 a Dutch Minister describes Masulipatam thus: It is "a city seated near a large river, where the English and Dutch have their factories. It is very populous and the residence of a Governor, who pays a certain yearly tribute to the King of Golconda . . . This city is a place of great traffick, where most of our commodities, as also those transported hither from the Molagues, China, etc., are sold at very good rate. Here is also a great concourse of merchants from Camboya, Suratte and other places under the jurisdiction of the Great Mogul, as also from Goa, Oriza and Pegu. Here is also a considerable traffick in Diamonds and Rubies."

The English Company had an Agent at the Court of Abu-l-Hasan Shah, under whom the Company held the settlement at Madras on an annual

rent to the King. The King had two Brahmin ministers who have left an enduring reputation. The Government at Fort Saint George issued instructions to their Agent at the King's Court to present substantial gifts to Madanna and Akkanna, the said ministers, "to preserve their favour" to the Honourable Company.

In 1678 when Abu-l-Hasan Shah, the last of the Quth Shahi dynasty, was about to visit Masulipatam, the Council there were directed by instructions from Fort St. George "to offer a considerable sum of money to obtain leave to coin rupees and pice at Madras to be current throughout the King of Golconda's dominions and also to obtain exemptions from customs dues in the Carnatic for English goods as they are in Masulipatam and those parts of the ancient Kingdom of Golconda." But the King did not visit the town as this entry in his journal of a visit to it (March 1679) by Streyusham Master, "Agent of the Coast and Bay" proves: "There is a new choultry raised in and a Key of Timber made into the river, built and prepared in December last for the King of Golconda's reception, but he did not come to this town...."

The Company's business at their Factory at Masulipatam must have been considerable, for about this time Major Puckle proposed for it a large establishment consisting of—

| | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| " A Chief, | } and no more of Councill, |
| A second for accounts | |
| A third for godowns | |
| A Secretary, | |
| Two Factors, | |

A Steward,
 Three Writers, each of the Councill to take
 charge of one,
 A Physician, rather than a Chirurgeon,
 A Minister."

It was at this time that the Agents of the Company in India "began to assume a retinue and display more suited to envoys of a nation than to mere employes of a mercantile concern."

As a sample of the social amenities which existed between the rival Dutch and the English, the following incident may be cited:

In March 1679 when Mr. Streynsham Master, "Agent of the Coast and Bay", visited Masulipatam, he apparently expected the Dutch Agent to call on him, but "the Chief of the Dutch, Signor Outhorne, sent to excuse his not visiting the Agent to-day by reason of business, etc...." and when in January 1680 Mr. Streynsham Master again landed at Masulipatam on his way back from Hugh, we find it recorded that "the Dutch Chief stood upon the Terras of their house when we passed by, but came not down to meet us in the street." This must have further aggravated the former offence of the Chief for not calling on Mr. Master and his party and so when the Dutch Chief sent next day to say that he would visit the Agent, Mr. Master begged to be excused "on account of press of business."

In 1686 when Aurangzeb overthrew the Qutb Shahi dynasty which patronised the English, the Dutch and French made haste to secure the Emperor's good will by large presents and the Dutch raked up

some real or imaginary affront from the Court of Golconda, took possession of Masulipatam and communicated this fact to the Madras Government by a curiously imperious letter and intimated that,—

“Wherein, according to our Orders and to the maintaining our Friendships, we shall not incommode or hinder your Honors to imbarque on your ships from your factory at Metchlepatam what goods you have ready by you as you have occasion, and to disembarque all your Provisions and Merchandize which are brought by your ships to Metchlepatam and lay them up in your factory; but not to carry them without the city to dispose of them to merchants or subjects of the King of Golconda, so long as our Company hath not satisfaction from the King and keep possession of the Town.”

The Madras Government made a vigorous protest and wrote that they intended to carry on their trade at Masulipatam, whether the Dutch permitted it or not, and advising the Dutch not to obstruct the trade “because of the ill consequences that may be”. The Dutch then explained that the English merchants had left Masulipatam, fearing that their property might be burnt by natives. What actually occurred during the next few years is not clear, but during the Company's war with Aurangzeb in Bengal, his troops advanced as far as the fortress of Kondapalli in 1687, whereupon the Dutch, English and French deserted Masulipatam.

About October 1687 it was reported at Fort St. George that "400 horsemen were come to Metchlepatam from the Mogul with Tashrefis for the Dutch and French and strict orders to seize and secure all Englishmen and their concerns." And at a General Council held at Madras on the 5th December of that year it was resolved "to expend 50,000 pagodas in purchasing forbearance from the Emperor and to send 10,000 pagodas of this sum at once to Court."

The country at this time seems to have been in a wretched state, there being a very great contagion in those parts, which depopulated many towns and wholly ruined the trade.

The Madras Government sent Rs. 10,000 as a present to the Mughal Governor of Golconda and in March 1688 received a letter from the Mughal Governor of Masulipatam about their re-establishing the factory there. But in October 1689 the English factory at Masulipatam with its eighteen godowns was seized by Aurangzeb's troops and their trade was extinguished for some years. And although the Madras Government succeeded in 1690 in obtaining from Zulfiqar Khan, one of Aurangzeb's generals, a Firman enabling them to re-open their factories along the coast and another one in 1692 to the same effect, yet as the buildings were reported to be in ruins, they were put in charge of one Brough, who drew Sergeant's pay, from 1690 to 1697, in which latter year a Mr. Lovell was sent to Masulipatam to re-open the factory, apparently on a small scale.

In August 1699, Mr. Pitt, cousin of Mr. Thomas Pitt, then governor of Fort St. George (of the Dia-

mond fame) landed at Masulipatam as Agent of the *New East India Company* and called himself "the President of the Coromandel Coast and Consul for the King of England." And in December 1699 Sir William Norris, Ambassador to the Emperor of Delhi, landed at Masulipatam and issued the following notification to the servants of the *Old Company* at this station :—

"This is to require and command you, not to presume to make any address or application, either in your own person or by any other, directly or indirectly, to any public minister or officer of the Great Mogul, without my knowledge or permission, as you will answer the contrary at your peril. Given at Masulipatam, December 26th, 1699

William Norris."

In 1700 the Madras Government, suspecting that Mr. Lovell was lukewarm in his opposition to Sir William Norris and Mr. John Pitt, resolved to again establish a Chief and Council at Masulipatam and despatched to that part a force of 24 soldiers with a Lieutenant, Sergeant and Corporal. In the meanwhile Sir William Norris left for Surat and the *Old* and *New Companies* being amalgamated in 1702 their rivalry ceased.

War with France being imminent in 1703, the Madras Government withdrew all the Factors from Masulipatam except one Mr. Frewen. In 1704 a person was sent from Madras to look after the dead stock, the Company declining to bear no more expenses than that of his salary and that of the necessary peons. One Narayan was deputed to buy

goods. For the next twenty years and more trade must have been languishing and we find that in 1726 the factories at Masulipatani and Madapollem were kept up on a very insignificant scale, as their total expenses then amounted only to 628 pagodas, whereas the Vizagapatani factory cost 6,000 pagodas.

It was now that the famous Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, came south from Delhi as the governor of the southern parts of the Empire, nominally a subject and the Lieutenant of the Emperor, but in reality an independent prince. Secret advices from Delhi urged Mubariz Khan the Subahdar of the Deccan, to overthrow this too powerful vassal, but he was defeated and killed at the battle of Shakar-khelda and Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, reigned without rival as Viceroy of the Deccan. The Province of Golconda, one of the outlying divisions of his dominions, comprised five Nawabs' charges, Arcot, Cuddappah, Kurnool, Rajamundry and Chicacole. Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of Rajamundry and the ancestor of the Prince of Arcot, ruled the country included in the Kistna District.

Under the Nawab of Rajamundry there was a Zilladar, called Rustam Khan, a man of great vigour and integrity, who ruled Rajamundry and four more southern provinces from 1732 for seven successive years with the most ample delegated sway. He aimed at the total extirpation of the merciless Zemindars "who defrauded the public treasury, and squeezed with the iron hand of oppression the industrious husbandmen and manufacturers." He is said to have erected pyramidal monuments with the heads of these merciless tyrants and

their adherents, called "Kalla Minars." Referring to these Mr. James Grant, "public Minister to the Nizam's Court at Hyderabad," in his Political Survey of the Northern Circars, says: "the remains of one of these singular proofs of Eastern depravity..... the cause or effect of the most violent despotism, are still to be seen in the vicinity of Masulipatam." This was in 1784. These "remains" have utterly vanished now and even the oldest inhabitant knows nothing of these "remains."

In 1748 Asaf Jah, Nizam-ul-Mulk, died and was succeeded by his second son Nasir Jang as Subahdar of the Deccan and when Muzaffar Jang, a grandson of the old Nizam was supported by the French under M. Dupleix, Nasir Jang marched south to Arcot and took Muzaffar Jang prisoner. And as the French Governor continued to resist Nasir Jang, orders were sent to the Muhammadan Governor at Masulipatam to arrest all the officers and to seize all the goods at that Factory, a grant of which seaport and its environs, M. Dupleix had obtained from Muzaffar Jang sometime previously. Nasir Jang's orders were carried out with all possible tenderness. The Muhammadan Governor arrested and put in prison M. Coquet, the Chief of the Factory, M. La Selle, Second in Command, the broker, the merchants and the principal servants, and taking possession of the building he sealed up everything in presence of the broker, but nothing was plundered and nothing was damaged. Thereupon Dupleix ordered the *Fleury* and the *D'Argenson*, which were lying in the roads at Pondichery, to embark troops and stores and ammunition and with the approval of his Council

determined to take possession of Masulipatam in accordance with Muzaffar Jang's grant. M. Guiland was entrusted with the execution of the plan, who had under him 200 Europeans, 20 East Indians, and 200 sepoy with several battering guns, all under the command of M. de La Tour. The ships arrived off Masulipatam on 12th July 1750, the Fort was taken and M. Coquet and the other prisoners were set at liberty. Dupleix reinforced the French garrison by 100 Europeans and 500 sepoy from Pondicherry. There is no record to show if the English were in Masulipatam when Nasir Jang's officers seized the Factory or when the French suddenly appeared in the Masulipatam roads and took possession of the Fort and town. The French improved the defences of the fortress and rendered it fit to stand a siege from any power then in India. They erected eleven bastions and a breastwork and constructed a causeway from the Fort to the town in place of the old bridge on wooden piles. It was they who dug a cistern capable of holding 44,000 gallons near the town gate.

But in 1759 the English under Col. Forde, who had been despatched by Clive to create a diversion in the Northern Circars as he suspected that the French were concentrating their forces for a supreme effort in the Carnatic, captured Masulipatam, which was then considered a "great commanding bulwark" by a midnight attack on 7th April 1759 and by the conquest of this fortress, the virtual sovereignty of all the maritime provinces from the river Godegama to the Chilka lake, was transferred absolutely from the French to the British Government, by a treaty with Salabat Jang who succeeded

Nasir Jang. This capture of Masulipatam and the expulsion of the French from the Northern Circars, was the turning point in the long conflict between the French and the English for supremacy in India. As the writer in the *Kistna District Manual* says "we may therefore look upon that singularly interesting spot, the old fort at Masulipatam, as classic ground and, rising superior to the depressing influences of the dismal swamp and muddy sea surrounding it, may remember that had the issue of that midnight struggle in April 1759 been otherwise, the tricolor and not the Union Jack might now wave over India."

In April 1760, Nizam Ali, brother of Salabat Jang, came to Bezwada where he was met by Mr. Alexander, the Chief in Council at Masulipatam, and offered a *lac* of rupees per mensem for a force of 100 Europeans with artillery and 1,500 sepoyas and promised to cede to the Company in addition Rajamundry, Ellore and Kondapalli. The Madras Government were unable to accept this offer. These three Circars therefore remained under the able management of Husain Ali Khan, the Faujdar under Nizam Ali, the ancestor of the Nawab of Masulipatam.

The whole coast was tranquil for a year after the capture of Masulipatam, and orders were issued to establish a line of postal runners from Madras to Calcutta, and directing all ships passing up and down the Bay to call at Masulipatam for intelligence.

Basalat Jang, another brother of Nizam Ali, sent a force under Karim Khan and took possession of Guntur, whereupon the Faujdar, Husain Ali Khan, first applied to Masulipatam for assistance and then went to Madras, vested with full powers on behalf of

Nizam Ali who had by this time become the actual Subahdar. During the tedious negotiations that went on, the Madras Government suggested to Husain Ali Khan "that these five Northern Circars were of little value to Nizam Ali, who extracted revenue from them with difficulty, that the British Government was strong enough to hold them and that they would pay to Nizam Ali half the net revenues." Husain Ali Khan assented to this and delivered to the Madras Government, Sanads in the name of Nizam Ali for the five Circars of Chicacole, Kondapalli, Rajamundry, Ellore and Guntur, which were despatched to Mr. Fairfield, Chief at Masulipatam, with orders to occupy and hoist the British flag at Rajamundry and other places, which were obeyed.

Nizam Ali, justly angered at this extraordinary intrigue, demanded that as the British sent no troops to his assistance they should return the Sanads and restore the territory. The Madras Government at once returned the Sanads, but declined to restore the territory until they should be repaid the expenses of the occupation. The dispute was settled in 1763 when the Company's troops were withdrawn.

The Court of Directors were now anxious to keep the French out of the Circars "by obtaining Sanads from the Subahdar even at the price of supplying him with a British force" and according to their advice one Condregula Jogi Pantulu, the Company's *dubash*, was sent to Hyderabad to negotiate but he returned to Masulipatam unsuccessful. The Madras Government "now fell back on their former plan of ignoring Nizam Ali's wishes and making use of Husain Ali Khan", the former Faujdar, who set

out from Fort St. George with a force under command of Captain Hart to take possession of these Circars. Arriving at Masula in March 1765, he marched against Tsallapalle Fort, which was abandoned at his approach. Rajamundry was next taken. As Mr. Pybus was "cultivating friendly relations" with Basalat Jang who was holding it in person the Guntur Circar was not touched. "Husain Ali Khan professed to take possession of the Circars in the name of Nizam Ali, but in truth he was a British Agent." Nizam Ali arrived at Dezwada in May 1765 with an enormous army, and alarmed at his approach Mr. Pybus made arrangements to defend Masulipatam. "But Husain Ali Khan collected all the money he could lay hands on and went to the Subahdar's camp on June 2nd, and Nizam Ali, thus appeased, took his departure for Haidarabad."

In August 1765 Clive obtained from Shah Alam, the Emperor, Imperial Firmans granting to the Company the five Northern Circars. The Madras Government had now legal title to hold these provinces, "but hesitated for sometime before they would venture to publish the Imperial Firmans and so do away with the fiction that Husain Ali Khan was holding them on behalf of the Nizam." In December 1765 they wrote to Mr. Pybus that they intended to publish the grants as soon as they could muster a sufficient force, and in February 1766 they sent General Claudiand to undertake any "necessary military operations." On the 3rd of March 1766 the Imperial letters were proclaimed in the Fort at Masulipatam, with all possible ceremony and letters were despatched to all Zemindars in the Circars.

The stronghold of Kondapalli was taken and the Circars, except Guntur where Basalat Jang was still too powerful, were occupied. "It now remained to dispose of the claims of Husain Ali Khan. He asked for a *jagir* and was offered an allowance of a *lac* of rupees per annum, being told plainly that he had done nothing to procure these Imperial Sanads. This offer he altogether refused and showed his displeasure so plainly, that Government alarmed lest he should make mischief in the newly acquired territory, gave him a *jagir* of 13 villages and allowed him to rent two Zemindaris. His troops were all paid off, 400 cavalry under Ibrahim Beg entering the British service and 50 French troopers going to Basalat Jang at Guntur." A descendant of this Husain Ali Khan, Sultan Ali Khan Bahadur, with the courtesy title of the ex-Nawab of Masulipatam is still receiving a small monthly pension from the British Government.

Nizam Ali touched to the quick by the occupation of his territory "under cover of a grant from the now tottering Court of Delhi" prepared for war. But in 1766 General Cailland proceeded to Hyderabad and after a difficult negotiation, concluded a treaty with the Nizam, by which the Madras Government agreed to hold the Northern Circars on a tributary tenure under him, at 8 *lacs* of rupees per annum, engaging at the same time to furnish the Nizam with 2 battalions of Infantry and 6 pieces of cannon. And it was Masulipatam which supplied the 2 battalions under Col. Smith in December 1766. By a second treaty concluded in 1768 similar to that of 1766, Guntur was to remain in the hands of Basalat

long during his life and the four other Circars were to be held by the Company as tributaries of the Nizam. The English now held the provinces both from Delhi and from Hyderabad. Guntur came under the rule of the Company in 1788 and the claims of the Nizam over the Northern Circars were finally determined in 1823 by a money payment to him from the Company of Rs. 11,56,666.

The English after taking Masulipatam seem to have done little or nothing to repair the damaged fortifications which probably disappeared in four or five monsoons, for in his Report upon the fortifications in 1765, Major Call, Engineer, says "A stranger would doubt if any defensive works ever existed round the place, were it not that some gun carriages appear half sunk into small mounds." But as Masulipatam was considered the seat of Government of the Northern Circars, it had to be defended from the Nizam, the Mahrattas and possibly the French, and the place was fortified at a cost of nearly 180,000 Madras Pagodas.

In 1779 Masulipatam was overtaken by a great storm, when "the sea flowed 12 feet deep in the Dutch factory and destroyed all their goods and their house to the value of 80,000 Pagodas; the sea was also knee-deep in the English factory where great loss was sustained in pepper and other spices." Houses were untiled and much of their broadcloth and calicoes was damaged. In Masulipatam and adjacent villages about 20,000 people were drowned.

The present District and Sessions Court at Masulipatam was originally built by Mr. Dobbyn,

one of the Members of Council. On a large beam to the right of the Judge's *dais* the following inscription is still to be seen:—

“This house was built in 1790 by William Augustus Dobbyn, Second in Council of Masulipatam. Cost M. Pagodas 10,000.”

In 1794 the Council at Masulipatam was abolished and a Collector appointed. The affairs of the Company in the Circars were till then transacted by a “Chief and Council.” “These boards were really Commercial Councils, upon which by accident the whole political, financial and revenue administration had fallen. These Councils were fixed at certain places and from their constitution were calculated rather for deliberation than for action. The members of those boards were but seldom acquainted with the country languages. It was a system without defined responsibility. A great part of the business before it was transacted by the Chief alone. The Chiefs and Councils were both superintending and executive officers. In their former character they directed the civil, commercial and revenue concerns of the Company within their respective districts; in their latter character, they acted as Collectors, settling and receiving revenue and performing such other duties of detail, as their stationary situations would permit.”

That extraordinary revolt against the Company's authority called the “Officers' Mutiny,” extended also to Masulipatam, when the brigade stationed there actually proceeded one march in the direction of Madras as if to assist in overawing the Govern-

ment. Sir John Malcolm came by sea to Masulipatam and succeeded in the very delicate task of recalling the sepoy to their duty in opposition to the orders of their immediate European officers. At this time a post was established by the officers through Pulicat to St. Thomas' Mount by sepoy^s disguised as runners.

Masulipatam was now the seat and commissariat depot for Secunderabad and Kampti and was considered a military station of some importance, but the fort was, in course of time, abandoned by the civil officers, and the native troops found quarters on the sand ridges near the town, but the commissariat officers and European troops were still condemned to quarters in the Fort.

In 1832-33 the Guntur or Nandam Kanune was followed by a pestilence which induced the authorities to station no more European troops at Masula. Col. Walter Campbell, while a Lieutenant in His Majesty's 62nd Regiment, describing the Fort in 1833 as it appeared to him on his arrival there, says:—

"The Fort was originally built by the Dutch on a site (a patch of dry ground, surrounded by a diemal swamp) which no living creature but a Dutchman, a frog or an alligator, would ever have selected for his habitation."

The Fort was half in ruins and utterly useless, the "barracks and officers' quarters wretched, and overrun by rats, bandicoots and other vermin, vegetation of the poorest kind, an interminable swamp between the

fort and the sea—a desolate scene all round ; its monotony being broken by a burying ground."

With such surroundings who will not sympathise with the poor young Lieutenant when he says :
 " Verily it requires a stout heart and a sanguine temperament to enable one to keep up his spirits in the midst of such a landscape"?

The morning after the Lieutenant's arrival he received a visit and he says :—

" My visitor was a respectable half-caste gentleman dressed in a genteel suit of black and a white tie. Advancing with the grave melancholy smile and obsequious air of a well-bred undertaker, he unrolled before my astonished eyes a neatly drawn plan of a new cemetery, which had lately been erected, and begged to know whether I would like to select, for my private use, a remarkably picturesque spot to which he called my attention. I thanked him very much for his polite attention, but informed him that being an Officer in His Majesty's Service, a grateful country had guaranteed, in the event of my demise, to put me under ground free of expense and with military honours."

In 1835, Sir Frederic Adam, Governor of Madras, visited Masulipatam when his attention was drawn to some Buddhist marbles, 33 in number, which had been brought from Amravati in 1839 by Mr. Robertson, the then Collector of Masulipatam, and placed

in the market square called Robertson Pettah after him. The Governor ordered the marbles to be placed in a safer and more conspicuous place: but the order was not obeyed and some years later Mr. Goldingham, the then Collector, gave them to Mr. Alexander, Master Attendant at Masulipatam, who ornamented his garden with them and refused to give them up to Government. What remained of them were at last purchased by Government from his executors, and may now be seen in the Madras Central Museum.

After the anicut was thrown across the Kistna at Bezwada in 1853, the canals were extended towards Masulipatam and a tidal lock, was completed in April 1863, and when it was shortly after opened for traffic a promise of revived commerce, which had fallen considerably, was given and within a fortnight after the opening, goods to the value of a *lakh* of rupees passed through the lock notwithstanding that ships had to anchor seven miles out.

But this prosperity was not destined to last for long. On the night of the 1st November 1864 Masulipatam was visited by one of the most disastrous cyclones recorded in history. "At noon that day rain set in with violent gusts of wind. By 3 p.m. there was a gale." An eye witness now living, a venerable old Pleader of over seventy-two, says that he was then a strapping young man of about eighteen, newly married and that as that day happened to be Deepavali, he was invited to his mother-in-law's house, not more than a furlong or so from his own and that it took him over four hours to reach it. "It was quite dark by 6 p.m. The wind increased in

violence and by 8 p.m. trees were blown down and roofs lifted off houses. Added to the storm it was new moon and the tide was full at 10 p.m. The sea, driven into the bight of the coast before the storm, came at the very moment of high spring tide and an enormous wave 13 feet high above ordinary high water level was borne inland by the gale. The gates of the new tidal lock were wrenched off. The ramparts of the fort were not intact and the wave rushed through the Fort. There were more than 2,000 people living in the Fort and of all the native houses nothing was left but a few posts. The Commissariat godowns fell and casks of porter and arrack strewn the country for miles inland."

"Gulkadinde," the present Gilakaladinde, a village with 2,000 fishermen and shipwrights on the east of the Fort, was completely swept away and nothing was left to show its site even.

The scene in the town of Masulipatam was worse; "the houses with mud walls soon fell and crushed their inmates. The wind was so fierce that strong men could not stand against it. In Sivaganga Pett, a Brahmin suburb, nothing was left standing except the Pagoda, and only 70 lives, out of 700, were saved."

"By midnight the water began to subside and the wave receded with a continued roar, uprooting and carrying everything before it, towards the sea." The eye-witness mentioned above, says that next morning he found the dead in heaps everywhere washed against the fallen walls of the houses and that the sight was simply heart-rending.

In a few hours 30,000 human lives were lost with, of course, a great destruction of cattle. The inundation extended along 80 miles of coast and 9 miles inland, the furthest point reached being 17 miles and the surface covered being not less than 780 square miles. Mr. Robert Ellis, C.B., who arrived at Masulipatam on 17th November, wrote :—

“The destruction of roads and trees has been great. The station which previous to the storm was a pleasant looking place, with well made roads and trim avenues of trees, presented on my arrival, a most melancholy aspect. The whole place was covered either with water or a thick deposit of black mud. The roads were almost entirely effaced and covered with broken trees and masses of prickly-pear, while the houses in their ruinous condition looked as if the station had been abandoned for years.”

The storm also caused the disappearance of a well known land-mark in the town called “Eliza's tree” about which there is the following foot-note in Mr. V. A. Smith's edition (1914, p. 113) of *Bernier's Travels in the Mogul Empire*.

“Sterne's (correspondent) Eliza was at one time a resident at Masulipatam, where her husband Mr. Daniel Draper was stationed in the service of the Honourable East India Company, and ‘Eliza's Tree’ was to be seen there, until it was unfortunately washed away in the cyclone of 1864.”

Shortly after this disaster much sickness broke out among the survivors in the town and the 19th Madras Native Infantry was removed and not replaced, the storm thus putting an end to Masulipatam as a military station.

A monument in the Fort erected in memory of the victims of the cyclone has a tablet bearing the following inscription :—

“This monument
Commemorates the Melancholy fate of
Antony and Maria Fruvall
their sons

.....
and about 30,000 souls

Who were all unexpectedly swept into eternity
by the Ocean Wave which desolated this town
on the night of the cyclone of
1st November 1864.

Manual Fruvall

Anxious to pay a tribute of affection to the
memory of his brother and family and
to express

His cordial sympathy with his surviving fellow
citizens has caused this pillar to be erected
On the very spot where his relations perished,
(which for years had been their happy home);

To perpetuate the remembrance of this awful event
and to serve at the same time as a lasting
Memorial

of the grateful feeling with which he and the
entire population recognize the unceasing and

whole-hearted exertions of their worthy
Chief Magistrate, C. Thornhill, Esquire ;

To console the survivors and relieve as far as human
succour could avail the distress of the
inhabitants.

" O ye seas and rivers, Bless the Lord
Praise and exalt him above all for ever."

Dan. iii. 78.

There is an old cemetery in the Fort outside of
which is a solitary tomb, which bears the following
inscription and crest :--

HIER LEYT BEGRA
VEN DEN E. IACOB
DEDEL



IN SYN LEVEN RAET VAN
INDIEN ENDE OPTER

HOOFT. TE WATER ENDE
 TE LANDE OVERDE. NEDER
 LANT SE NEGOTIE DE SER
 CVET COROMANDEL OVER
 LEDEN DEN 29 AUGUSTY
 ANNO 1624.

There are various other tombs scattered over the town of Masulipatam, but none so old as the above one.

Of the many Pettahs which make up the town, which like Madras is a place of distances, one is still called "Ulanda (Holland) Palem," another "English Palem" and a third French Pett where the French still maintain a "Mayor" of their own.

Of old buildings two are in existence in Masulipatam, dating back to the Company's days; one Dobbyn's Bungalow already referred to, occupied by the District and Sessions Court and the other by the Munsif's Court. There is another in the Fort, occupied by the Post Office and the Police Station where a number of cannon balls are to be seen, which is probably the remnant of the old Arsenal. Next to this is a roofless structure, said to have been once a Hospital, now owned by the Hyderabad State which maintains a caretaker. The Church in the Fort has vanished, only the belfry—without the bell—is standing. The bell now in the new (Indian) Church is said to have belonged to this belfry. As for the old "Fort" itself there is not even a broken wall left.

Thus we see, that tradition apart, Masulipatam has been known to history from about the beginning

of the 15th century. From the Hindu Rajas it passed successively into the hands of the Bahmani kings, the Orissa rajas, the Carnatic king, Krishna Raya, and the Golconda kings. The latter held it for a century and a half, during which period European traders, the English, the Dutch and the French, established themselves there and the commercial prosperity of the town began to grow. After numerous vicissitudes it finally came into the hands of the English in 1766 when the Northern Circars were assigned to them by the Nizam.

Masulipatam has long been famous for its cotton goods. "In former days, the chintzes of Masulipatam had a great reputation abroad for the freshness and permanency of their dyes, the colors becoming brighter after washing than before."

At the commencement of the last century, Masulipatam enjoyed very extensive trade in chintzes and colored cloths. Goods to the value of 50 lacs of rupees, it is said, were exported to the Persian Gulf alone. Machinery, aniline dyes and Manchester goods have all combined to beat the produce of the hand looms out of the field. Its manufactures and trade have decayed. The cyclone of 1864 dealt the heaviest blow. The withdrawal of the garrison in 1865 put an end to Masulipatam as a Military Station and the opening of the Madras Railway, its importance as a Port. And when after the present war the contemplated transfer of the head-quarters of the District to Bezvada becomes an accomplished fact, it will receive its *coup-de-grace*.

MAHUR : ITS HISTORY AND MONUMENTS.

BY G. YAZDANI.

The old town of Mahur is sacred to the Hindu, associated as it is with Vedic stories and Puranic myths. The visitor is shown the spot where the sweet Renuka, eager for conjugal felicity, 'fell from perfection' in the eyes of her devout husband, Jamadagni, and at his suggestion was put to death by her own 'dutiful' son, Parasurama.* Another place recalls the scene where the Hindu triad becoming jealous of the generosity and modesty of the pious Anasuya, came to test her virtues, and to their chagrin were transformed into three little infants by her. Not less interesting and impressive are the various hill sites where the Rishi Atri burnt the 'sacred fire', or where he and his illustrious son Dattatreya by the fervour of their devotion attained godhood. The natural scenery is superb, and the isolated cliffs, the luxuriant forest, and the winding streams are veritably an abode of gods.

HISTORY.

Apart from these legends we have a complete blank in the history of Mahur until we come to the time of the Muslim conquest. In India ancient races and dynasties are often traced by their archi-

* For the full story, see Dawson's *Hindu Classical Dictionary*, p. 206.

ture, the prevalence of a style connoting the extent of dynastic dominion; so the caves of Mahur of which I shall speak hereafter, may attest the hypothesis that the country must have formed part of the Chalukya kingdom or of the dominions of the Vakataka and the Rashtrakuta kings, all of whom were fond of cave architecture. Modern research in epigraphy and numismatics has filled large gaps in the early history of Berar: but no definite reference is made to Mahur which stood at the south-eastern limit of that province.

We find in the annals of Ferishta that Ala'-ud-din Bahman Shah (1347-58) on assuming independence in the Deccan divided his kingdom into four provinces of which Mahur, Ramgarh and part of Berar formed one. Mahur thenceforward remained an important outpost of the Bahamani kingdom, because this part of the country was not free from trouble, being exposed to attacks by the highland chiefs of the Satpuras and by the wild tribes across the Wardha. We read of an insurrection in the province against Muhammad Shah Bahmani (1358-75), while in A.D. 1398 it was invaded by the Raja of Kherla in the Satpuras, who carried fire and sword from the hills down to Mahur. Firoz Shah Bahmani (1397-1422) marched in person to punish the marauders and halted one month and five days at Mahur. The rebels were ultimately punished and Narsing Ray, the Raja of Kherla, expressed contrition for his conduct and acknowledged himself the king's vassal.* The fort of Mahur, situated on a hill, just east of the junction of the Pen Ganga and Pus rivers, was largely rebuilt

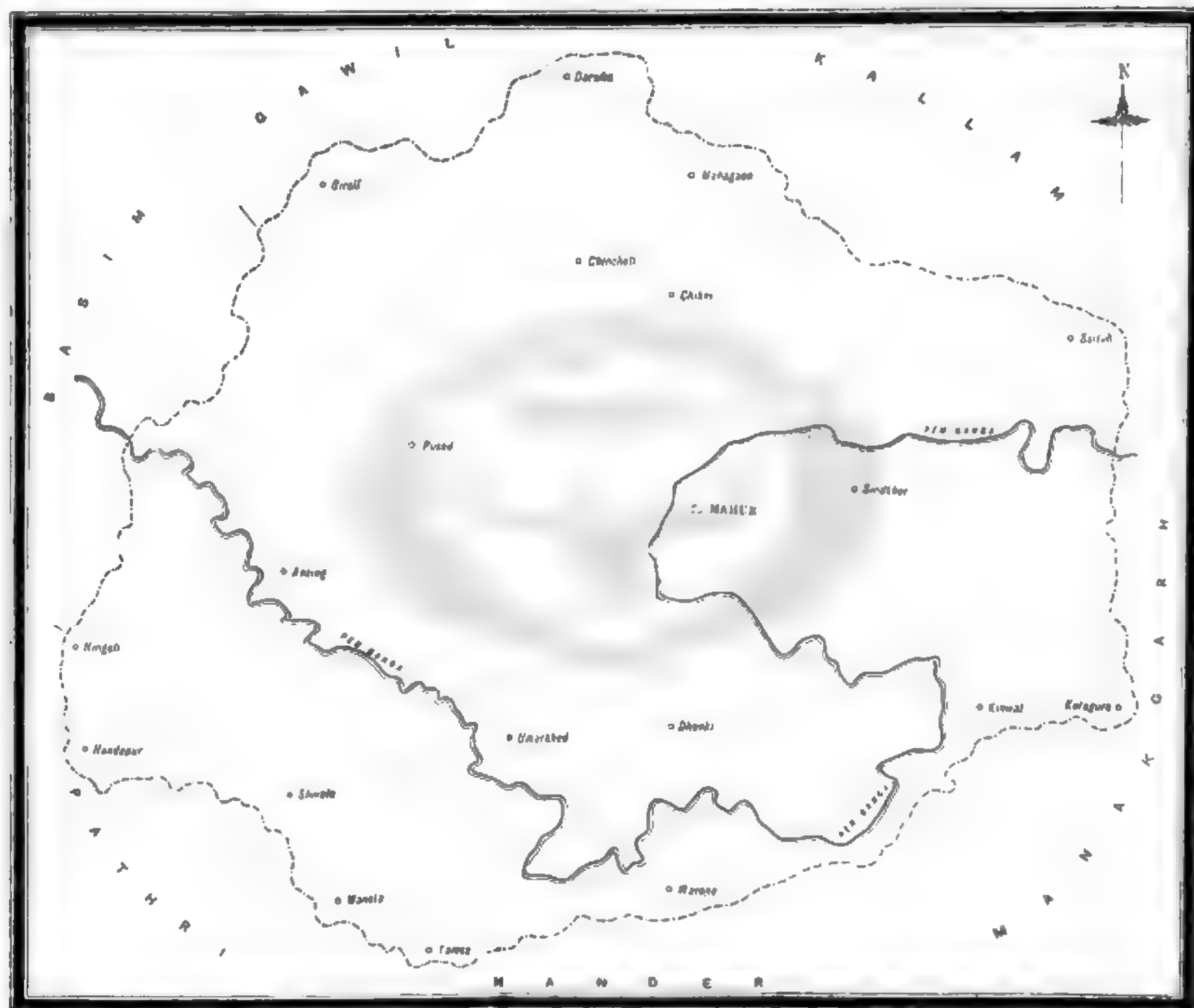
* *Ferishta* (Buggis' translation), Vol. II., pp. 373-76.

by the Bahmanids, and its existing monuments which I shall describe later, are mainly the constructions of this dynasty.

In 1480 A.D. Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, the renowned warrior-statesman of the Bahmani dynasty, to control the authority of the provincial governors redistributed the territorial divisions of the empire and instead of four provinces substituted eight divisions. This scheme caused much agitation among the governors and ultimately cost Mahmud Gawan his life. The province of Berar, according to this distribution, was split up into two provinces, one of them being Mahur which was placed under Khudawand Khan Habeshi.

In 1526 the Bahmani dynasty collapsed entirely but before its extinction (in 1484 A.D.) Imad-ul-Mulk set himself up as a petty king in Gawil. In 1516 A.D. Amir Barid marched from Bidar and after taking the fort of Mahur he attacked Ramgir and carried it by assault, slaying the governor Khudawand Khan.* Upon receiving intimation of this invasion Ala'-ud-din Imad Shah (1504-29), on the plea of assisting the family of Khudawand Khan, began to collect his forces; but Amir Barid, in order to avoid a war, placed the two sons of the deceased in the two forts of Mahur and Ramgir and desired them to consider themselves tributary to Ala'-ud-din. The latter, however, continued his march and on approaching the forts made himself master of them.

* Amir Barid had invited Sultan Quli Quth-ul-Mulk and Khudawand Khan to aid him against Yusuf 'Adil Shah, but they disregarded the summons, apparently owing to mutual distrust. Khudawand Khan had also been raiding some forts on the northern frontier of the Bahmani dominions, and these were the causes which led to the capture of Mahur by Amir Barid.



Khudawand Khan's sons fled for protection to Burhan Nizam Shah, while Ala'-ud-din placed his own governors in the forts.

The usurpation of these forts gave umbrage to the Nizam Shahi court, between which state and that of Imad Shah frequent battles ensued, wherein the latter was at length totally defeated and lost possession of the forts of Mahur and Ramgarh. The Ahmadnagar dynasty, however, was not long destined to hold mastery over Mahur because the conquering hosts of Akbar in 1599, put an end to the dynasty, and their kingdom, including Berar, of which Mahur was a *sarkar*, was annexed to the Mughal empire.*

Abul Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* (English translation, Vol. II, pages 228, 234, 235 and 236) gives a succinct but lucid account of the *sarkar* of Mahur and speaks of a *Zun-anda* who commanded 100 horse and 1,000 foot and was entitled Rana. The *sarkar* was divided into twenty *parganahs* (Pl. VI), and yielded a revenue of 42,885,444 *dams* in money. The Archaeological Department, Hyderabad, possesses a manuscript statistical account of the Deccan which is probably identical with the India Office MS. No. 470†. The account, from various references in the text, appears to have been compiled in the reign of the Delhi Mughal king, Muhammad Shah (1717-48), and the viceroyalty of Chin Qalich Khan.

* On the cession of Berar by Chand Bibi to Akbar's army, under Sultan Murad and Khan Khanan, Mahur was expressly excluded from the territory to be ceded; but was subsequently annexed to the Mughal empire for we find the *sarkar* of Mahur mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, as an integral part of the imperial provinces of Berar. Vide Hager, *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 144.

† Eshe; *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library*, Vol. I, p. 118.

In the MS. the *sarkar* of Mahur is stated to contain twenty *parganahs* (the same as described by Abul Fazl), and to yield a revenue of Rs. 847,629, which, if we reckon 40 Akbari *dams* equal to a rupee is considerably less than the amount given by Abul Fazl.*

We do not read of anything of consequence in the history of Mahur during the Mughal government except that it formed part of the *jagir* of Udajiram Dekhani and his descendants, and in the 15th regnal year of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, who was then under the displeasure of his imperial father, while fleeing from Burhanpur to Bengal, paid a visit to Mahur and left all his heavy luggage and elephants in the Fort.† In 1724 Chin Qalich Khan established his independence in the Deccan and from that date Mahur has always remained subject to the Hyderabad dynasty‡, although the Bhonals posted their officers

* The Archaeological Department MS. describes Mahur as follows:—

"Mahur, divided into twenty *mahals* (small *talukas*), total revenue, Rs. 847,629. A fort on the Shyinchal range, the only one in the *sarkar* (district). The meanderings of the river Pen Ganga have brought it into touch with several places in the district. At a distance of 3 *cos* from Mahur it bounds two or rather three sides of the town and approaching to a distance of two *cos* towards the north of Mahur it takes an easterly course. Flowing on, the river goes beyond the *pargana* (*taluka*) of Chanda and ultimately joins the Godavari. The eastern boundary is the district of Kallam, the northern the *talukas* of Kaval, Basam is the western boundary, and the southern the *taluka* of Nanded in the Muhammadabad (Bidar) *Subah*. In the vicinity of the fort there is a temple dedicated to Durga. On the fourteenth of Katak every year people assemble here from distant places and bathe in a tank called *Mawala*. Afterwards they go to the Fort and bathe in the tank there. Owing to this assemblage the officer of the place collects a large amount of tax.

Divisions of the district:—(1) Mahur, (2) Chikni, (3) Chicholi, (4) Mahagon, (5) Dharna, (6) Kironi, (7) Punad, (8) Anahang, (9) Nandapur, (10) Hingoli, (11) Shivola, (12) Manant, (13) Tamas, (14) Warona, (15) Dhanki, (16) Umarched, (17) Kotgur, (18) Kuvvat, (19) Salta and (20) Sindker."

† See *Ma'athir ul Umara*, Vol. I., pp. 142-44.

‡ *Ma'athir ul Umara* (Vol. II.) contains the names of some of the governors of the *sarkar*, see pp. 241, 521, 522 and 826.

all over Berar and constantly fought for their right to exact the *Chauth* and *Sardennukhi*. The partition treaty of Hyderabad (dated 1804), however, put an end to this double government and the province, excluding certain tracts left with the Nagpur Chief and the Peshwa, was made over in perpetual sovereignty to H. H. the Nizam. In 1853, by a treaty, certain districts of Berar were assigned to British management for the maintenance of the Contingent force, which somehow in exclusion to the other districts have assumed the name of the province of Berar. Mahur was not included in these districts and was thus separated from the old imperial *Subah*, of which it was an integral part for several centuries.

MONUMENTS.

The old town of Mahur is in ruins now and its site may be determined by decayed walls, broken roads and pathways, and the plinths of destroyed houses. The present habitable area which can be styled only a village comprises two to three scores of huts and small houses, and is dwindling to unimportance because the situation of Mahur—on a high spur and embosomed in thick forest—is such that it could flourish only as long as it had any military significance.

The most important ruins at Mahur are a pair of caves cut in the east side of the hill situated at a distance of three quarters of a mile from the village. The front of the main cave was adorned with six pillars besides pilasters, but, unfortunately, they have disappeared owing to the fall of the rock forming the façade of the cave. The hall which measures 77'-6" x 47', has in its middle another row

of massive pillars which have divided it into two aisles. The pillars have square bases but after rising to some height they have been transformed into circular shafts, and the corners where the change in the form has taken place are adorned with human figures which have disintegrated owing to the rock being soft and porous. At the western end of the hall is the shrine measuring 19' x 18' 6" with a *pradakshina* or passage for circumambulation 9' 6" wide. The lintel of the shrine door is adorned with Brahmanical images and pediments of Dravidian order. The interior of the shrine is empty now but originally it had a *linga* with a *salenka* because the cave from the presence of the *pradakshina* as also from other features appears to have been Sivite (Pl. VII).

The notable feature of the cave are two gigantic sculptures of *dvārapālas* each about 14 ft. high which have been cut with considerable grace and beauty. It is difficult to fix with any certainty the age of the caves but from their general style they appear to have been excavated about the same time as the later Brahmanical caves of Ellora, that is the 7th to the 9th century A.D.

Owing to neglect of centuries the cave is much silted up and since my inspection excavations have been started to expose the original plinth and other architectural features which are buried now under earth and débris.

Outside the cave at the north-eastern end there are two unfinished cells probably intended for the accommodation of Brahmanical deities—Ganessa, and Siva and Parvati.

PLAN OF THE NEWLY DISCOVERED VINARA CAVES AT MANUR (ASIFABAD).

PLATE VII.

SCALE 80 FT. TO 1 INCH.



N.B.—The caves are partly unfinished particularly the ones to the South.

The other cave, which is unfinished, is as spacious as the first. Its arrangement can be best understood from the accompanying plan (Pl. VII). The cave when finished would have comprised an outer hall with a row of pillars in the front and small rooms at the eastern and western ends, and an inner hall divided into two aisles and flanked with small rooms on the eastern and western sides. The shrine with the *pradakshina* would have been at the southern end of the inner hall.

The cave though unfinished gives us an insight into the process which the workmen followed in excavating the caves. The doors are in the beginning only irregular openings, the pillars lumps of stone and the halls and rooms irregular and uneven spaces in the heart of the rock. The sculptors first worked out the plan in a rough way and when that was accomplished they gave proportionate lengths, breadths and altitudes to the various apartments, chiselled the doors, carved the pillars, adorned the façade and finished other architectural and artistic details.

The caves are locally called the Pandu Lena.

The next group of monuments in chronological order comprises the Mawala tank and the shrines dedicated to the various deities. The tank is a pleasing expanse of water (532 ft. x 450 ft.) situated at the foot of the hill on which the Fort is built. On three sides it has an enclosure wall (6 ft. high) carrying a fine paved walk (6 ft. broad). For the convenience of the bathers there are also broad flights of steps descending to the water level. The fourth side of the tank has been left open to take in monsoon water

from the neighbouring hill. The water of the Mawala tank is held in great sanctity, because it is supposed to possess the same potency in blessing the souls of the fair sex as the waters of the holy Ganges for the departed souls of the males. In the month of Katak a *jatra* is held and the devout votaries, who assemble in very large numbers, bring the cremated remains of their dear ones from long distances and deposit them with due ceremony in the purifying waters of Mawala. By these continual deposits the tank has unfortunately much silted up and if it is not excavated and cleared within, say, twenty years, the sacred waters may disappear altogether and the result perhaps will be attributed by the pious pilgrims to the sinfulness of the Kaliyuga.

Among the religious shrines the most important are (1) the temple of Renuka Devi, (2) the temple of Dattatreya, (3) the temple of Anasuya, and (4) the temple of Deo Deolishwar. They are built on the knolls of a hill with luxuriant foliage, which offers a glorious landscape to the eye and forms a pleasant background for the buildings: but, contrary to one's expectations, the style of architecture of the temples proves to be very disappointing on a close inspection. The bounty of the pilgrims and the religious and utilitarian tastes of the custodians (*pujaris*) are responsible for the destruction of all old structures, and the erection in their place of arcaded halls of late Muslim type and of square and rectangular rooms with roofs and sheds of corrugated iron sheets.

The temples have a halo of sanctity and religious tradition about them and the sight of the *Mahants* and their devoted disciples (*Chelas*) clad in saffron

clothes, is inspiring. Some of them possess large estates yielding an income of over a *lac* of rupees, but they themselves live very simple and austere lives and spend their incomes entirely in charity. At Dattatreya's temple needy and poor people come from long distances and the hope which brings them to this out of the way and rather inaccessible place is fully realised through the bounty of the *Babas*.

The last in the group of Mahur monuments, but by no means the least in historical and architectural importance, is the Fort. It is very strongly built, perched on a hill 400 ft. high over-looking and over-awing the plains below. It has rather an irregular shape, being constructed along the edges of two close standing spurs, while the valley between them has been turned into a large tank by the construction of a massive wall. The ascent to the Fort on three sides—east, west and south, is extremely precipitous, the fourth side which is fairly accessible was defended by redoubts and stone gateways, the ruins of which can still be traced. Passing beyond these defences the visitor reaches the main gateway, styled the Chini Darwaza, for its façade is decorated with panels of Persian enamel work. The gate is a massive structure—pre-Mughal in appearance and evidently built by the Bahmani kings who held possession of the Fort for over a century. Inside the gate on either side of the passage (9 ft. wide) there are spacious rooms which were utilised for the accommodation of the guards. Over the roof of the gate there is an apartment where, probably, the governor of the Fort lived with his *zenana*. The apartment opens on a beautiful courtyard with paved walks and a fine masonry cistern in the middle.

The northern wall of the apartment is pierced with *jali* screens of artistic design, through which the ladies enjoyed the sight of the cavalcades passing the gateway.

From the Chini Darwaza a broad paved road leads the visitor to a group of ruined houses shown as the various offices and the dwellings of the nobility. The most imposing of these is a rectangular enclosure with high walls, the interior of which is now unfortunately filled with a thick growth of cactus and other wild trees and nothing of its plan can be determined. Close to this is a big hall divided into five apartments and called by the local people— not without certain discrimination—the Store-house. Proceeding further on along the road we get a view of the inner defences of the fort—(1) The Dalbadal Burj, a bastion of gigantic dimensions and most solidly built; (2) the Chor Darwaza, a slit in a massive wall, for escape in the time of danger, etc. At the south-western extremity of the Fort there is a set of rooms built in the pillar and lintel style and having flat stone roofs. An image of Maha Kali which is described as being older than the advent of the Muslims in the Deccan, is accommodated in the rooms. The image is still worshipped and if the tradition about its age is true, it speaks in favour of the tolerant spirit of the Muslim rulers of the Fort who did not offend the religious susceptibilities of the people during their long government.

Another building in the Fort is a mosque with three arched openings and divided into two aisles. The roof of the mosque is vaulted and consists of six small domes. The pillars are of Hindu style

and were evidently taken from an old ruined temple. The mosque is in a comparatively good state of preservation and may be saved from ruin if vegetation growing on it is destroyed and a few holes and cracks judiciously treated with cement.

The walls of the Fort are single, but very thick, being built of large blocks of masonry laid in mortar. The natural defences of the Fort, perhaps, did not necessitate the construction of several tiers such as are usually found in other Deccan forts. The general aspect of the architecture of the Fort is grim and solid and quite typical of the inclinations and character of the early Muslim conquerors of the Deccan.

IV

THE LAST SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF GOLKONDA, 1687.

BY PROFESSOR JADU NATH SARKAR,
Hindu University, Benares.

Our authorities for Aurangzib's siege and capture of Golkonda, are :—

- (1) *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, or the Mughal official history.
- (2) *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*, or the private memoirs of Bhuvan Burhanpuri, a civil officer of the Mughal army, whose account is at places as valuable as the reports of the "Eye witness" in the present war.
- (3) Nimat Khan Ali's highly rhetorical and partly metrical description of certain incidents (*Waqai*) of the siege. Incomplete as history; stops at the end of June, while the fort was captured on 21st September.
- (4) Khafi Khan, who gives a simplified version (with many poetical extracts) of Nimat Khan's book and some incidents not mentioned by the latter.

I have also consulted the Persian MSS. of two contemporaries, viz., the *Nadir-uz-zamani* of Khushhal Chand and the *Futuh-i-Alamgiri* of Ishwardas Nagar, but the former has merely given an abstract of No. (1) above, and the latter wrote from too great a distance to tell us anything useful or reliable. The best account

of the siege hitherto available in English was that of Major Haig in his *Historical Landmarks of the Deccan* ("Pioneer" Press). But Haig had no knowledge of authorities (1) and (2) cited above. By the courtesy of the Editor of this *Journal* I print here my own history of the siege, based on *all* the available materials.

Chronology of the Siege.

28th January, 1687.—Aurangzib arrives within two miles of Golkonda. Attacks the enemy's baggage in the dry-ditch. Qalich Khan mortally wounded in trying to enter the fort pellmell.

About 1st February.—Battle with the Qutb Shahi force outside.

7th February.—Mughals open their trenches, and in a month carry the sap to the edge of the ditch.

21st February.—Shah Alam placed under arrest.

16th May.—Firuz Jang's escalade fails.

17th May.—Garrison make a sortie.

28th May.—Shaikh Nizam deserts to the Mughals.

June.—Mughal raised battery and trenches spoiled by rain.

15th June.—Garrison make a night-attack and carry off Ghairat Khan and some other high Mughal officers. Saf Shikan Khan thrown into prison by Emperor.

20th June.—Mughals fire two mines—Emperor rides to battle-field—Severe but fruitless struggle all day.

21st June.—Third mine misses fire.

22nd June.—Saf Shikan Khan restored to liberty and created Chief of Artillery a second time.

7th July.—Emperor inspects Saf Shikan's new battery.

10th July.—Prince Azam and Ruhullah Khan arrive with reinforcements.

Terrible Famine. A wall of wood and clay is ordered to be built round Golkonda.

21st September.—Golkonda is captured.

Topography of the Siege.

On this point our authorities are deplorably silent. I have been able to collect only the following scraps of information, which local antiquarians may utilise in the light of the full account of the siege printed below:—

Mughal army under Aurangzib came from Bidar and halted 2 miles from Golkonda (*M.A.*, 287). Firuz Jang, after capturing Ibrahimgarh (Yadgiri) and taking possession of the city of Haudarabad, wrote to the Emperor (*M.A.*, 288). Evidently Aurangzib himself was encamped on the hills north of Golkonda.

Trenches were carried to the foot of the ditch (evidently from the south and south-east of the fort) (*M.A.*, 290). Prince Shah Alam was in command of the trenches on the Right Wing (*K.K.*, ii., 330).

The Mughals constructed a raised battery up to the height of the turret of the fort. But it was spoiled by the enemy. Lutfullah stayed three days in the middle of the river (evidently S. E. of the fort) and then expelled the enemy and restored the battery. But rain washed the battery away (*M.A.*, 290-291).

Enemy drag a gun to the fort wall opposite the Emperor's tent (1 north of the fort) and fire it. Aurangzib orders a gun-platform to be erected to a sufficient height to silence the fire of this gun. But the work was delayed.

19th May.—During the successful night sortie by the Qutb Shahis, Firuz Jang was in a mosque between the imperial

camp and the fort, but could not fall upon the enemy on account of the flooded country between. Boats were swamped in trying to cross the raging *nalla* (*Waqai*, 57).

20th June.—Emperor goes to the quarters of Firuz Jang by way of “the old raised battery” (*M.A.*, 295).

21st September.—The Mughals enter the fort by a back-door (*khirki*) near the old trenches. Prince Azam was staying on the bank of the river at the foot of the fort in order to support the men who first entered the fort (*M.A.*, 299).

“The Mughals entered the *khirki* gate with the help of the very high steps (*sina*) above the batteries and the roads around, which had been broken down by cannonade. Prince Azam entered the fort by the [larger] gate which was opened to him by the Mughals from within” (*Khas Khaw*, ii., 362).

Old Hyderabad.

On 30th October 1686, Aurangzib left the newly conquered city of Bijapur and then travelled by easy stages to Gulbarga and Bidar, halting there for several weeks. “At last on 14th January 1687 he mounted his horse to punish that luckless man, Abul Hasan,” and on the 28th of the month arrived within two miles of Golkonda. Meantime, Abul Hasan had again fled from his capital to this fort, and the city of Hyderabad was occupied for the third and last time by the Mughals. Firuz Jang had been detached after the fall of Bijapur to capture the Qutb Shahi fort of Ibrahimgarh.* After carrying out that task, he had advanced and taken possession of Hyderabad in the name of the Emperor. (*M. A.*, 287-288.)

On hearing of Aurangzib's coming “Abul Hasan was in utter despair and perplexity. His lips were

* Now called *Yadagiri*, 30 miles due south of Malkhed, off the left bank of the Bhima. (*Ind. A.*, 57).

strangers to laughter, his eyes full of tears, his head vacant of sense, his tongue speechless. He offered submission to the Emperor with new protestations of devotion. But the Emperor's only reply was the sword." (*M. A.*, 287.)

The walled city of Haidarabad, the seat of the Qutb Shahi government, stands on the south bank of the Musi river, which was then crossed by a grand old stone bridge of early 17th century construction. North of the river were a number of suburbs, "where all the merchants, brokers, and artisans dwelt, and in general all the common people," Haidarabad itself having been reserved for the Sultan, his court, nobles and military officers. Even to-day the westernmost of these suburbs bears the name of *Karwan*, from the many caravan-serais for merchants and travellers that it once contained. Next, to the east, came Dhulpet and beyond it Begam Bazar with the *Gosha Mahal* (Retreat Palace) standing in the midst of a park north of the peopled quarter. Further east, after crossing a thin stream feeding the Musi, lay the site of the British Residency and the aristocratic Chadarghat ward of the present day.

Golkonda Fort described.

Two miles due west of the stone bridge, some 160 yards north of the Musi river, lies the fort of Golkonda, the impregnable stronghold of the Deccan. It is an irregular rhombus, with a rough pentagon (the *Naya Qila*) annexed to its north-eastern face. A strong crenellated wall of granite, over four miles in length and of great thickness, surrounds the fort, which is further defended by 87 semi-circular bastions, each from 50 to 60 feet high and built of solid blocks

of granite cemented together, some of them weighing more than a ton. The eight massive gates could have easily defied any artillery known to the 17th century. On the walls were mounted a vast display of cannon, some of them being very fine specimens of the mediæval gun-founder's art. Outside is a deep ditch, 50 feet broad with stone retaining walls, and along the entire southern side there are traces of a second parallel moat.

But Golkonda really consists of four distinct forts joined to each other and included within the same lines of circumvallation. The lowest of these is the outermost enclosure into which we enter by the *Fath Darwaza* near the south-eastern corner; it is a vast tract covered with mansions of nobles, bazars, temples, mosques, soldiers' barracks, powder magazines, stables and even cultivated fields. Here the whole population of Haidarabad used to live in times of danger. Proceeding inside along the grand main road for some 1,250 yards from the *Fath Darwaza*, and leaving a set of rather later palaces, harems and offices on a low site on the right, we arrive at the *Bala Hisar* gate which leads us, over a flight of steps, to a higher area with exceedingly lofty and strong walls and containing a capacious three-storied armoury, magazines, stables, mosques, audience chambers, harems, gardens, large wells with steps, and even two *serais* and a temple of the monkey-god!

Further west, some 200 steps cut in the solid rock lead the traveller up to the very apex of the fortress, the *Bala Hisar* (or Upper Fort), standing on a bed of solid granite, its walls being formed by huge boulders with here and there connecting curtains and parapets

that tower far overhead. This is the citadel of the citadel, the kernel of the whole fort ; and here the early Dravidian rajahs of the land had built their first stronghold, by filling the gaps in the natural rocky walls with mud and rough stones, and here their rude ancient temples out into the rock still stand. In this Bala Hisar the Qutb Shahi kings had erected a two-storied palace, the roof of which commands a free view of the environs for miles and miles around. Here they could retire as a last resource, for it contains, in spite of its great height, a well, powder magazines and numerous granaries (*ambar-khanah*) hollowed out of the bed-rock. The western face of the Bala Hisar is a steep scarp, between which and the outermost wall on that side, the plain is broken by three long granite spurs running westwards, and presents to the eye a bare uneven desert some 260 yards in width, strewn with fragments of rock.

At the north-western corner of the fort, on both sides of the Patancheru Road, there are reservoirs of water and thick human habitations, gardens and a small cemetery. At the north-east angle stands a mound commanding parts of Golkonda ; but it was enclosed by a wall and added to the fort, under the name of the *Naya Qila* of New Fort, by king Abdullah as a defensive precaution after Aurangzib's first siege in 1656. (*M. A.*, 201.) North, south and even west of this last area are large tanks and the water supply of the fort was unfailing.

Between the fort and the northern suburbs of Haidarabad the ground is low and scored by streamlets draining the surplus water of the Langarcheru into the Musi. Here, as well as round the *Naya Qila*,

lie many hundred acres of rice-field, secure of irrigation from the tanks of this region. North of the fort, at a distance of a mile and a quarter, runs a low range of bare fantastically piled up hills, skirted by the great old road from Sholapur and the west. Here Aurangzib is said to have established his own quarters at the last siege. About a thousand yards outside the Patancheru or north-western gate, stand the magnificent tombs of the Qutb Shahi kings, queens and nobles; and this position seems to have sheltered some of the besieging force. But so far as we can infer from the scanty details left about the siege, the Mughal attack was directed on the south-eastern and southern faces of the fort, their soldiers moving along both the north and south banks of the Musi, while the N. W. gate was bombarded only as a feint.

Death of Qalich Khan.

Arrived within view of Golkonda (28 January, 1687), Aurangzib at once ordered his generals to assail and drive away the enemy's troops who had assembled in the dry ditch under shelter of the fort walls, "like a swarm of flies." One charge of the imperialists swept them away, or as the Mughal official history puts it, "the wind came and the gnats fled away"; and their property, wives and children were captured. Qalich Khan (the grand-father of the first Nizam) tried to enter the fort pell-mell with the fugitives and capture it by one stroke. But Golkonda was not to be taken by a *coup de main*. He was hit on the shoulder-blade by a *zamburak* bullet from the fort walls, and with one exception all his followers hung back from this desperate enterprise. So the Khan had to return in disappointment. The old

warrior bore his pain with stoical fortitude. "When the surgeons were extracting the splinters of bone from his shoulder, he was sitting calmly engaged in conversation with the men around, without twitching a muscle of his face, and sipping coffee with the other hand. He cried out, 'I have got an excellent tailor!' In spite all the remedies tried by the doctors, he died after three days." (*M.A.*, 289).

Regular siege operations had, therefore, to be undertaken against the fort. On 7th February the trenches were opened and thus began the siege of Golkonda which was destined to last seven months and a half, to cause unspeakable suffering and loss to the Mughals, and to end, not in a glorious victory of arms, but in a capture through bribery.

Arrest of Shah Alam.

The siege began under the Emperor's own eyes, but at the very outset his arms were paralysed by a conflict of policy and a bitter personal jealousy in his camp. The greatest sinner in this respect was his eldest surviving son and intended heir, Shah Alam. This prince was of a soft pleasure-loving nature, and constitutionally averse to strenuous exertion and heroic enterprise. He did not wish to see a brother sovereign like Abul Hasan utterly ruined. This generous impulse was mingled with a more sordid feeling: if Golkonda were taken by assault, all the credit of the achievement would go to the Commander-in-chief Firuz Jang, as the credit of the capture of Bijapur had gone to his younger brother Muhammad Azam. But if he could induce Abul Hasan to sue for peace through his mediation, then he himself would be proclaimed in the official report as the captor

of Golkonda. Abul Hasan knew it and worked on the Prince's feelings. His agents secretly visited Shah Alam with costly presents, begging him to use his influence with the Emperor to save Abul Hasan's throne and dynasty. The Prince gave encouraging replies, in order to induce Qutb Shah to look up to him as his only friend at court and not to seek any other intercessor. For some time envoys and letters continued to pass between the two.

In thus negotiating behind the Emperor's back and with an enemy beyond hope of the Emperor's pardon, Shah Alam was playing a dangerous game. And he had enemies in the camp ever on the lookout for a chance to ruin him. His rival, Azam, was no doubt absent, but had friends in the imperial army and court, who were glad of an opportunity to trip up Shah Alam. The Prince's position was rendered still more dangerous by dissensions in his harem. His favourite wife, Nurunnisa (the daughter of Mirza Sanjar Najm-i-Sani) had monopolised his heart by her accomplishments as a Hindi poetess, devotion and care for his comfort, and charity to all, so that his other wives were jealous of her to the death. Azam's partisans revealed to the Emperor the secret of the communications passing between Shah Alam and Abul Hasan, while the neglected wives of the Prince denounced Nurunnisa as her husband's counsellor and agent in these treasonable negotiations. They even spread the false tale that she had shamelessly gone to the fort in disguise and assured Abul Hasan that Shah Alam would come over to him if the Emperor rejected the proffered peace. An order of Shah Alam to bring his women's tents closer to his headquarters, really as a precaution against surprise

by the enemy, strengthened Aurangzib's suspicion that the Prince was meditating flight to the enemy's fort with his family. All doubts were set at rest when Firuz Jang intercepted and showed to the Emperor one night some letters which the Prince had been trying to send to the fort.

Aurangzib acted promptly. Shah Alam's own contingent was sent to the front on the pretext of meeting an expected night-attack, while imperial troops took their place as guards round the Prince's camp. Next morning (21st February), Shah Alam with his four sons was invited to the Emperor's tent for consultation. After a few minutes' talk with him, they were asked by the *wazir* to step into a side-room (the chapel) with him to hear some secret instructions of the Emperor. There they were politely asked to consider themselves as prisoners and surrender their swords. Shah Alam readily submitted ; but his eldest son Muizuddin had more spirit ; he laid his hand on the hilt of his sword and looked at his father for a signal to draw it and make a dash for liberty. But Shah Alam's answer was an angry frown and a stern order to obey. The Prince's entire family was imprisoned, his property attached, his troops distributed among the other commands, and his trusted eunuchs tortured to make them divulge their master's treasonable plots. The more the Prince protested his innocence, the more did the Emperor's anger flame up ; he increased the rigours of Shah Alam's captivity and ordered that he should not be allowed to cut his hair or pare his nails, nor be supplied with delicate food, cooling drinks or his customary dress. It was seven years before the Prince recovered his liberty.

Aurangzib's mortification at this stern necessity was extreme. His eldest son had been put in prison and had died a captive. His eldest daughter, the gifted poetess Zeb-un-nisa, had been doomed to life-long confinement in the state-prison of Delhi. And now his eldest surviving son was punished similarly. After the arrest of the Prince, the Emperor hurriedly broke up his court, ran to his wife Aurangabadi Mahal, and kept slapping his knees and moaning, "Alas ! Alas ! I have razed to the ground what I had been rearing up for the last forty years."

Dimensions.

Shah Alam was not the only discordant element, in the siege-camp. The many Shias in the imperial service heartily disliked the prospect of the extinction of the last Shia kingdom in India, and though a few notable exceptions among them served the Emperor loyally against their own religious sympathies, others secretly helped the besieged, especially during the dark days of rain and famine. Apart from the Shias, this war of extermination against Abul Hasan was condemned by many orthodox Sunnis even, as an unprovoked "war between Muslims" and therefore sinful. The upright and saintly Chief Justice, Shaikh-ul-Islam, had counselled the Emperor against invading the two Deccani Sultanates, and on his advice being rejected he had resigned his high post and retired to Mecca. His successor in office, Qazi Abdullah, tendered the same unpalatable advice and entreated the Emperor to accept submission and tribute from Qutb Shah and thus stop the effusion of Muslim blood. The Emperor's answer was to pack off this honest adviser to the Base camp.

This natural distrust towards Shias hindered the Emperor's business. At first the only high and distinguished officer at the siege was Firuz Jang. As for Khan-i-Jahan, he was fighting in Northern India. The only other great general, Ruhullah Khan (Paymaster-General), was a Persian Shia, and hence he was at first suspiciously kept in the rear at Bijapur, and called to Golkonda only after five and a half months had elapsed from the opening of the siege and the Mughals were in the sorest straits. Persians, though undoubtedly the ablest among the Islamic peoples, were now jealously kept out of the post of Chief of Artillery which was of the first importance in a siege.

Saf Shikan Khan, the Chief of Artillery (*Mir Atish*), was a Persian and jealous of the superior position and favour enjoyed by Firuz Jang, a Turk. After working strenuously for some time in carrying the trenches towards the ditch and raising lofty batteries to command the towers of the fort, he resigned "in order to spite Firuz Jang." Salabat Khan succeeded him, but failed to do his work well, and resigned in a short time. The next Chief of Artillery was Ghairat Khan, who was surprised by the enemy in a state of gross carelessness and carried off as a prisoner. Then the post went abegging for some time, to the ruin of the siege operations. Salabat Khan, on being pressed to resume it, replied that he could not bear the roar of artillery and begged that he might be allowed to stay in the rear and discharge his duties by deputy! The whole camp laughed at him and refused to be his deputy. Then at last, Saf Shikan Khan was taken out of prison and restored to his office (22 June, 1687). But by that time the field works constructed after five months of toil, had been demolished by the enemy,

and the investment had to be begun anew. This internal history of the besieging army will supply the key to the actual course of the siege operations.

When at the end of January, the Mughals sat down before Golkonda, an enemy force of 40,000 cavalry under Shaikh Nizam and other officers remained outside and tried to hinder the progress of the siege. Aurangzib detached Dalpat Rao Bundela and other officers of Firuz Jang's division to repel them. A severe battle was fought in which many Rajputs were slain and Krishna Singh Hada was mortally wounded ; but in the end the enemy fled, so severely punished that for some months afterwards they never again molested the Mughals. (*Dil.*, 206 ; *K. K.*, ii., 329, 335.)

The circle of investment was divided among the various generals and the first turf cut for the approaches on 7th February. But the fort had an inexhaustible supply of munitions and its walls bristled with guns of large calibre. Day and night the garrison kept up an incessant fire on the approaching Mughals. "The fort looked as if made of fire ; the smoke turned day into night." (*M. A.*, 290 ; *K. K.* ii. 336.) Every day some men were slain or wounded on the Mughal side. But the dauntless courage and tireless perseverance of the troops under Saf Shikan carried the sap to the edge of the ditch in about six weeks. Then they began to raise lofty platforms and mount guns on them to dominate the towers of the fort. The next step was to fill the ditch and make a path for the assaulting column. For this purpose, Aurangzib, after performing his ceremonial ablutions and uttering prayers, sewed with his own fingers

the first bag of cotton to be filled with earth and thrown into the ditch.

Escalade fails.

While these slow operations for breach and assault were going on, the Commander-in-Chief made an attempt to take the fort by an escalade. On 16th May, he stole out of his camp at 9 p.m., and on reaching a bastion where the enemy's sentries were asleep, he planted a ladder against the wall and sent two men up to the rampart. The two other ladders he had taken with him proved too short, and so a rope-ladder was fastened to the top of the gate. By chance a pariah dog was standing on the wall, seeking a path for descending to the moat and feeding on the corpses lying there. Alarmed by the appearance of strangers it set up a loud bark, which roused the garrison. The two Mughal heroes were slain at once. The enemy ran to the wall with torches, discovered the assailants, threw the ladder down, cut the rope-noose, and despatched with hand-grenades the men at the foot of the wall. A smart musketry-fire drove away the Mughal supports. Firuz Jang was covered with failure, but returned to his camp in the early morning, beating his kettledrums in a spirit of vain defiance.

The dog is an unclean animal to Muslims. But this dog had played the part of the sacred geese of the Capitoline Hill during the Gallic invasion of Rome. Abul Hasan rewarded his canine deliverer by giving it a gold chain, a collar set with jewels, and a gold embroidered coat, and styled it "*Sih-tabqa* or "Peer of three degrees,"—in mockery of Firuz Jang's three titles of *Khan*, *Bahadur*, and *Jang*—remarking wittily "This creature has done no less (than Firuz Jang)!"

The garrison promptly retaliated for the surprise that had failed. Early in the morning of the next day (17th May), they made a sortie on the raised battery, slaying the artillery men. Reinforcements were soon pushed up from the trenches, and the enemy withdrew after killing 70 men. They had also brought a large gun to a point on the wall opposite Aurangzib's own tent and began to fire it, the balls falling around his residence. To subdue its fire he ordered a new raised battery to be built opposite it; but no officer would undertake to heap up the earth quickly in the face of the enemy's murderous fire. The Emperor, therefore, ordered two hundred quilted coats (inscribed with extracts from the *Quran*) and leather helmets (*mighfar*) to be sewn and supplied to the forlorn hope for an assault on the walls. He had, in addition, some long ladders made, set them up against his tent-poles and himself climbed up one of them in order to charm them into invulnerability and thus put heart into his troops; for, did he not enjoy the reputation of being a living saint, *Alamgir zinda pir*?

Sufferings of the Mughal Army.

Indeed, Aurangzib's troops sorely needed to be heartened by appeals to supernatural aid. The siege operations had ceased to make any progress for some time past, on account of confusion in the artillery branch. Saf Shikan Khan, quarrelling with the commander-in-chief, had resigned the supreme command of the artillery, and the post had been filled by the cowardly Salabat Khan and then by the sleepy Ghairat Khan. The enemy's fire was still unsubdued, and the ditch far from filled up. The Mughals also now fell into the grip of famine. During the preceding

year there had been an utter failure of rain throughout the Deccan, and the millets (*jawari* and *bajra*) which are the chief food crops of the peninsula, had dried up on their stalks. In the Haidarabad district rice was the staple produce ; but the war had prevented the sowing of the fields and this fertile region had become a desert. The Deccanis and their Maratha allies infested the roads and prevented the transport of grain to the Mughal camp. Then, in June, the rain descended in torrents, the swollen water-courses and rivers became impassable, the roads were turned into quagmires. No provisions could reach the besiegers even from the neighbourhood. To crown their misery, terrible reverses fell on them in quick succession at this time.

The incessant rain of the middle of June completely spoiled the siege-works. The raised gun-platforms collapsed into mud-heaps ; the walls of the trenches fell down and blocked the passages ; the covered lanes became impassable. The camp became a sheet of water out of which the white tents stood up like bubbles of foam ; the canopies were torn away by the violence of the storm, leaving the men without any shelter over their heads. The shivering troops began to steal away from the front, and their officers sought cover and repose instead of keeping a strict watch at their posts.

Mughal trenches raided.

The enemy seized the opportunity. In the night of 15th June, amidst a deluge of rain, they raided the Mughal advanced batteries and trenches, slew the careless artillery men, drove nails into the portholes of the guns, destroyed the stores of sapping and gun

material, and then fell on the officers. Salim Khan (an Abyssinian) and Saf Shikan Khan (the ex-Chief of Artillery) saved themselves by jumping down into pits of mud and water. Jamshid Khan the sapper fled before the onset. Ghairat Khan, the new Chief of Artillery, ran for safety into a covered lane and after rolling about in mud, to disguise his appearance, shammed the dead! The enemy followed him there, and an Afghan deserter from the imperial army recognised him and carried him off into captivity with Sarbarah Khan (a trusty old servant of the Emperor) and twelve other high officers.

The Emperor, at the first report of the raid, had ordered Haiat Khan to go with 70 elephants and to transport the reinforcements to the scene of the fight in the advanced trenches, over the flooded *nalah* which no boat could cross. But the water was too deep and swift even for elephants; and after standing for hours on the nearer bank of the stream as helpless spectators of the slaughter of their comrades going on on the other bank, Haiat Khan and the troops under him returned to their tents. The trenches and batteries between the *nalah* and the fort were lost to the Mughals for three days.

The Emperor's wrath fell on Saf Shikan Khan, who was flung into prison and his property confiscated on the suspicion of his having collusively aided the enemy out of spite against Firuz Jang and Ghairat Khan. On the 16th, Lutfullah Khan was sent with the Emperor's body-guards and other picked troops to recover the lost ground. But it was only after three days of struggle and with the assistance of a fresh division that the enemy could be expelled and the ruined battery re-occupied by the Mughals.

Abul Hasan treated the captive Mughal officers very kindly, gave them rich presents and sent them back to the Emperor. These luckless men were sternly punished on their return ; all of them were degraded in rank ; Ghairat Khan was sent off to Bengal (then considered a penal province), Sarbarah Khan was deprived of his peerage (title of *Khan*) and reduced to his former status of a slave.

Peace offer rejected.

With the captive officers Abul Hasan had sent a petition to the Emperor, saying, " If Golkonda is left to me as a vassal paying tribute, it would be more profitable to the Emperor than if he annexes it and governs it by a viceroy, as the latter's expenses would swallow up the entire revenue of the province. It will take 7 or 8 years to restore cultivation and population to this war-wasted land, and during that period the Mughals will get nothing out of it. If, on the other hand, Aurangzib makes peace and retires beyond my frontier, I shall pay him one *krone* of Rupees as indemnity, besides one *krone* in honour of every assault led by him in person." He also offered to present 5 or 6 *lakhs* of maunds of grain from the fort to feed the starving Mughals, even if his peace-terms were rejected.

But imperial prestige had been lowered by the late brilliant *coup* of the enemy, and it must be restored whatever further suffering and loss such an attempt might bring down upon the imperial army. Aurangzib rejected both offers of Abul Hasan and scornfully replied to the Golkonda king, not directly but through one of the Mughal officers, " If Abul Hasan is really submissive to me, as he professes

to be, let him come with his arms tied together and a rope round his neck (like a sentenced felon), and then I shall confer on him any favour I may consider proper."

Vigorous measures were taken to retrieve the late disaster and press the attack home. Orders were sent to Aurangabad, Khandesh and Berar for 50,000 cotton bags, two yards by one yard, and other material necessary for filling the ditch anew and making a path for the assaulting column. The starving imperialists complained of the rejection of the enemy's offer to supply them with food, but Aurangzib continued stern and unbending in his attitude to Qutb Shah.

Mines fired.

Soon Aurangzib prepared to strike his greatest blow. Three mines had been carried from the siege trenches to under the bastions, and they had been reported as nearly complete, as early as 17th May. Everything was ready by 19th June; the chambers stored with 500 mounds of gunpowder each, the fuses laid, and the army only waiting for the Emperor's order.

The next day (20th June) was fixed for the explosion of the mines and the delivery of the assault, which the Emperor went to supervise in person from Firuz Jang's trenches. The Mughal troops, as ordered, rushed out of their trenches and made a noisy feint against the undermined bastion in order to induce the enemy to crowd at the point and then kill vast numbers of them by the explosion! Dense masses of Mughals—artillery men, musketeers and infantry, —stood in battle order in the plain below the glacis, ready to storm the breach when made.

Early at dawn the signal was given; the fuse was lighted and then followed a deafening noise. But the force of the explosion was directed outwards; a vast mass of rock and earth from the glacis was hurled upon the Mughal ranks crowded below: "In the twinkling of an eye the flying splinters killed 1,100 imperialists while the fort walls remained intact." A universal clamour rose from the Mughal army, the groans of the dying, the shrieks of the wounded, the wild cries of the terror-stricken and the lamentation of the friends of the victims mingled in a dissonant tumult which "suggested the Day of Judgment." A cloud of smoke and dust covered the imperialists as with a pall.

Mughal reverses.

The enemy seized the opportunity by making a sally and attacking the confounded Mughals. No resistance could be made under the circumstances. The exultant garrison put to the sword the few survivors of the assaulting column whom the explosion had spared, and then seized the trenches and outpost which it had taken the Mughals four months to make and occupy. A force sent by the Emperor drove them out and recovered the position after a long contest and heavy loss. This had been hardly effected when the second mine was fired with the same disastrous consequences. Again the splinters of the blown-up tower fell on the Mughals, and killed more than a thousand of them. The enemy, who had got news of the intended assault through their friends in the siege-camp, had vacated the undermined bastion the night before, leaving only a look-out man there. They now made a second sortie and fell on the unhappy imperial vanguard, doing the same havoc as before.

Firuz Jang then hastened to the scene with a large force, but by the time he arrived from his distant quarters, the enemy were in possession of the Mughal field-works and shelters. A severe struggle for them now took place; the enemy alternately fired their guns and charged sword in hand; and Firuz Jang with all his efforts could not reach the lost ground and dislodge them. He himself was wounded with two other generals, Rustam Khan and Dalpat Rao Bundela, while vast numbers of his men were slain. "The men could not advance an inch in the face of the murderous discharge of muskets, rockets, chainshot and bombs." (*M. A.*, 293.)

At the news of this serious check, coming as it did on the top of two disasters on the same day, Aurangzib himself, girt round by his staff, advanced from his station in Firuz Jang's tent, to aid his hard-pressed troops. Cannon-balls began to fall near his portable throne (*takht-i-rauan*), and one of them carried away the arm of his body-servant (*khanas*). But he coolly kept his position and cheered his soldiers by his example.

While the battle was raging fiercely, the elements themselves seemed to mingle in the war of mortals. A tropical storm burst on the plain with all the violence of wind, rain and thunder. The imperialists could not advance or even see their objectives distinctly amidst the blinding shower, while the Qutb Shahi troops, safely sheltered in the fort walls and the captured Mughal trenches, plied their fire-arms with deadly precision on the crowded Mughals in the open.

The rain continued to descend in torrents; the water in the field rose above the horses' breasts, the

raised batteries were washed away, the dry *salahs* and even the low paths became rushing streams. The Mughals, assailed by men and the gods, gave way ; and then the Deccanis made their third sortie of the day. Sallying forth from the gates, they seized the trenches further off and the elevated gun-plat-forms, carried off as many guns as they could and destroyed the others. The big planks, beams and thousands of bags filled with earth which the Mughals had thrown into the ditch were quickly removed into the fort and used in repairing the breaches caused by the explosion !

By this time the plain of battle had been turned into a lake of mud. The Mughal generals continued to charge the enemy, but to no effect. An imperial elephant worth Rs. 40,000 was killed on the spot and many men were shot down by the Deccani musketeers and the incessant discharge of artillery from the bastions of the fort. Towards evening the Prime Minister Asad Khan and Prince Kam Bakhsh brought up fresh reinforcements, but could not restore the battle. (*Dil.*, 207, *M. A.*, 295.) Advance was impossible, and to hold the position was to face a gradual but sure destruction. Therefore, at sunset the defeated Mughals retired to their quarters; the Emperor spent the night in Firuz Jang's camp.

Next morning (21st June) he issued forth again to fire the third mine and try his fortune by another assault under his own eyes. The mine did not explode at all. It was then learnt that the enemy had discovered the three mines, countermined them with incredible labour by digging in the solid rock of Golkonda, removed all the powder from this (third) mine,

and partially emptied the other two and flooded their chambers with water on the fort side, so that only the powder at the Mughal end was dry and the explosion had, therefore, been driven outwards. After some futile exchange of blows, the Mughal soldiers returned to their camp in utter disappointment. The baffled Emperor stole back to his own tent "without ceremony." "Various other plans were tried, immense wealth was spent, but the siege dragged on." (*M. A.*, 295.)

Famine.

The *morale* of imperial army was utterly gone. True, reinforcements soon arrived (10th July) under Prince Azam and Ruhullah Khan. True, Shaikh Mirhaj, "the best servant of Abul Hasan" (*M. A.*, 296), deserted to the Emperor's side (28th May), and Saf Shikan Khan, restored to liberty and the Mir Atish-shah (22nd June), began to do his utmost to erect a new gun-platform very quickly. But all these were of no avail. The famine grew worse than before, and pestilence appeared as its inseparable companion. "The scarcity of grain and fodder was so great that even rich men were reduced to beggary, while the condition of the poor baffled description." (*K. K.*, ii., 336.) As the official history records it, "Wheat, pulse, and rice disappeared. The city of Haidarabad was utterly depopulated; houses, river, and plain were all filled with corpses. The same condition prevailed in the Mughal camp. At night piles of the dead used to accumulate, and next day the sweepers used to fling them, without funeral, on the bank of the river. This happened day after day. The survivors in the agony of hunger ate the carrion of men and beasts. For miles and miles around, the eye rested

only on mounds of corpses. Happily, the ceaseless rain melted away the flesh and the skin, otherwise the rotting carcasses would have poisoned the air and despatched even the men spared by the famine. After some months when the rains ceased, the white piles of skeletons looked from a distance like hillocks of snow." (*M. A.*, 292.)

"Many of the Mughal soldiers unable to bear the pangs of hunger deserted to Abul Hasan ; others, in secret league with him, gave help to the besieged." (*K. K.*, ii., 337 ; *M. A.*, 295.) The reinforcements brought by Ruhulla Khan (the Viceroy of Bijapur) and Prince Azam (that of Malwa) only added to the scarcity of food.

"The siege was protracted." All hope of taking Golkonda by escalade or breaching was gone. And there was no course left but to sit down before the place with grim tenacity and starve it into surrender. And this Aurangzib did. "The Emperor decided to build a wall of wood and earth round the fort of Golkonda. In a short time it was completed and guards were placed at its doors, ingress and egress being forbidden except on the production of passports." (*M. A.*, 296.) A new lofty gun-platform was also constructed opposite one of the bastions, and the Emperor reconnoitred the fort from it on 7th July. Prince Azam, on his arrival, was appointed Commander-in-Chief in the place of the wounded Firuz Jang. (*M. A.*, 299 ; *K. K.*, ii., 358.) At the same time to prevent the garrison from getting fresh supplies, Aurangzib issued a proclamation annexing the Kingdom of Haidarabad. He appointed his own magistrates and revenue-collectors for all places in it,

saying "How long can Abul Hasan remain hidden in the fort, when his towns, villages and corn-fields are in our hands?" The *khutba* was read in the Emperor's name and a Censor of Public Morals (*muhāsib*) was posted by him at Haidarabad to put down all the Hindu usages and deviations from Islam which Abul Hasan had tolerated, to demolish the temples, and to build a mosque there. (*K. K.*, 358; *W.*, 134.)

In time the rain ceased, the roads became dry and the rivers fordable again, and provisions began to come to the Mughal camp, and the famished troops got a new life. On 21st September, after the siege had lasted nearly eight months, "the luck of Aurangzib did its work without a stroke of sword or spear"; Golkonda was captured by bribery. (*M. A.*, 292, *K. K.*, 361.)

Golkonda betrayed.

An Afghan soldier of fortune, named Abdullah Pani, surnamed Sardar Khan, had deserted Bijapur service for the Mughal and then left the Mughals to join Abul Hasan; and now in the decline of the Qutb Shahi monarchy he had risen to be one of the two highest officers in the fort. This double-dyed traitor now sold his master to the enemy.

He left the *khirki* or postern gate of the fort open, and at his invitation a party of Mughal soldiers under Ruhullah Khan crossed the broken ground between the siege batteries and the wall and entered the fort unchallenged, at about 3 o'clock in the morning of 21st September 1687. They posted some men within to hold the ground and then opened the main gate through which the flood of Mughal invasion now poured into the fort. Prince Azam with the supports

advanced from the river, at the foot of the fort, to the front trenches and then to the gate, and struck up the music of victory, proclaiming that Golkonda was at last won.

But it was not to be won without a final struggle. One last feat of the purest heroism cast its radiance on the fall of Golkonda and redeemed its infamy. When the exultant Mughals were swarming into the fort and making their way to the palace, a single rider who had had no time to gird his belt on or put saddle on his horse's back, fell like a lunatic on that myriad of enemies. It was Abdur Razzaq Lari, surnamed Mustafa Khan, the one faithful man among that faithless crew of Golkonda. Throughout the siege he had rejected with scorn all the bribes of Aurangzib, including a command of Six Thousand Cavalry in the Mughal army, saying that "he would rather be ranked among the 72 faithful companions who perished with the Khalif Hasan at Karbala than with the 22,000 traitors who overcame him." Alone he rushed against the flood of invaders, shouting, "While I live, there will be at least one life sacrificed in defence of Abul Hasan." He forced his way against "a thousand swords" to the gate of the Bala Hisar. But covered with 70 distinct wounds, one eye badly damaged, and the skin of his forehead alashed and hanging down so as to obstruct his vision, his horse reeling from wounds and loss of blood,—Abdur Razzaq no longer saw his path before, but did his best merely to keep his seat and gave his horse the loose rein. The animal escaped from the press and dropped him near an old cocoanut tree in the Nagina Bagh garden near the citadel. Here the only hero of the siege of Golkonda lay bloodstained, insensible, half dead, for

an entire day, and was then found out and taken to his home. Thence he was removed to the Mughal camp and nursed back to life by order of the Emperor.

Abul Hasan arrested.

In the meantime, when the roar of the advancing Mughals and the din of street fighting and plunder reached the ears of Abul Hasan, he knew that his end had come. "After trying to console his wives and begging pardon of each of them, he came out to the audience chamber and sat down on the throne calmly waiting for his unbidden guests, and even ordered his morning meal to be served at the usual time. When at last Ruhullah Khan and his party entered, Abul Hasan was the first to say 'Good morning,' greeted them kindly, and behaved with royal dignity throughout the painful scene. Then, after bidding his captors to breakfast with him, he finished his meal and left the palace amidst the frantic lamentations of his women, servants and friends. On reaching Azam's tent outside the gate, the deposed king was consoled by the Prince, lodged in his tent, and in the evening presented to the Emperor. The court historian writes that "Aurangzib, in his infinite mercy, shut his eyes to the offences of this hapless man and ordered him to be safely lodged in a tent." After a time he was sent to Daulatabad. On the steep wind-swept side of that grim prison-fortress, in a set of narrow apartments now choked with grass, brambles and fallen masonry, the most luxurious king of the Deccan sighed out his captive life on a pension of Rs. 50,000 a year.

Nothing in Abul Hasan's reign became him like the ending of it. As king he had been known only

for debauchery and a criminal neglect of the duties of his office. But at the moment of leaving his throne and passing into the rigours of captivity under a sworn enemy, he showed a self-control and a dignity which astonished his captors. To their cries of admiring surprise he replied that though born of royalty he had been trained in youth in the school of poverty, and knew how to take pleasure and pain with equal indifference as gifts of God, "who had made me a beggar, and then a king, [and now a beggar again], and who never withdraws His gracious care from His slaves, but sends to each man his allotted share of food. Praised be God, that I feel neither fear nor repining now. I have given away *lakhs* and spent *krores*. Now that he has cast me out of His favour as a punishment for my sins as king, I still thank Him for placing me in my last years in the hands of a pious king like Alamgir." (*K. K.*, ii., 364.)

The spoils taken at Golkonda amounted to nearly seven *krores* of Rupees in cash besides gold and silver plate, jewels and jewelled ware. The revenue of the conquered kingdom was 2 *krores* and 87 *lakhs* of Rupees.

THE
DATE OF SULTAN QULI QUTBU-L-MULK'S
ASSUMING THE TITLE OF KING.

BY G. YAZDANI.

Firishtah, the popular historian of India, states that Sultan Quli did not declare his independence till the year 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.), when the imbecility of Mahmud Shah Bahmani's government was apparent to the whole world, and the ascendancy of his ambitious minister completely established.* This date has been copied by some of the later Indian writers†, and in the books on Muslim history and chronology compiled in English during the last century it is unanimously accepted‡. Firishtah's account of the Qutb Shahi kings, as a matter of fact, is extremely meagre, and also not very reliable, because, as he observes in the introduction, he could not obtain Shah Khwurshah's history, which dealt with the reigns of the early Qutb Shahi rulers§. This circumstance, coupled with the fact that the inscription tablet fixed over the doorway of the Jami'

* Briggs' *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, Vol. II. pp. 222-23.

† *Muntakhabu'l-Iktab*, Vol. III, (Amfyn Library MS.).

‡ Duff's *Chronology*, p. 318; Lane-Poole's *Mohammedan Dynasties*, p. 321, Haig's *Historic Landmarks of the Deccan*, p. 236, etc.

§ Briggs, iii, 331.

Masjid at Golkonda, dated 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), gives the name of Mahmud Shah Bahmani as that of the reigning king and mentions the name of Sultan Quli without any regal titles*, has led me to re-study the problem in the light of available contemporary records.

Transcript.

Bina'o haza-l-masjidi-l-Jami' fi zamani-s-Sultani-l-A'zami-l-Mutawakkil 'ala'llahi-l-Ghani, Abi-l-Maghazi Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah al-Bahmani, Khallad'llaho mulkahu wa sultanahu; wa baniyuhu al-Mubtakil ila'llahi Maliki-l-mulki; Sultan Quli almukatab ba Qutbu-l-Mulk fi sanati arba' wa 'ishrin wa tis' mi'at.

Translation.

"This assembly mosque was built during the reign of the great king, al-Mutawakkil 'al'llahi-l-Ghani (trusting in God the Independent) Abu-l-Maghazi Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah al-Bahmani—may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty!—and its builder is the humble suppliant of God, the Lord of the Universe, Sultan Quli Qutbu-l-Mulk. In the year 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.)"

The inscription is very clear in its meaning, and from its text it cannot possibly be inferred that Sultan Quli had declared his independence earlier than 924 A.H., the date of the inscription, because in that case the name of Mahmud Shah Bahmani, with all his titles, would not have been recorded as the reigning king, and also the title of Shah and the usual benedictions for the perpetuity of the reign

* *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1913-14, p. 46, Pl. XIX (b).

would not have been omitted from after the name of Sultan Quli.

Shah Khwur Shah's history formed the basis of the abridged work entitled—*Tarikki Sultan Muhammad Qutb Shahi* from which Briggs has given a copious extract in his history, *the Rise of the Mahomedan Power*, Vol. III, pp. 339-484, and several manuscript copies of which exist in the British Museum*, India Office† and other libraries. The Asafya Library, Hyderabad, also possesses several copies of the work and one of them (No. 401) to which I shall frequently refer in this paper is most accurately written and comprises 337 pages (12" x 7"; 24 lines in each page).‡ This history does not give the exact date of Sultan Quli's accession, but it shows that the ceremony was held after Sultan Quli had completed the Fort of Muhammadnagar (Golconda). To quote the words of the Qutb Shahi historian, as rendered into English by Briggs—

"It appears from all the Deccan histories that when Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk had laid the foundation of the city of Mahomednuggur (Golconda) § and that all the different chiefs such as Adil Khan of Beejapooore, Nizam-ool-Moolk of Ahmudnuggur, etc.,

* Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. I, p. 321.

† Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office Library, columns 176-79.

‡ This work mentions another history of the Qutb Shahi period which deals with the reign of the first few kings. It is called *Marhuba-l-Qulub* and was compiled by Sadri-Jahan. Unfortunately no copy of this book is traceable now. Cf. Asafya Library Ms. No. 401, pp. 33 and 51; and Briggs, iii, pp. 340, 352, etc.

§ "Had completed the construction of the Fort of Muhammadnagar," is a more accurate translation of the text. Vide Hyderabad MS., p. 53.

had declared their titles as kings, the officers of his Government recommended him to ascend the throne and proclaim himself king of Tulingana, saying they had no one else whom they acknowledged as such. As these representations came in support of several letters to the same purport, sent by Yusoof Adil Shah and Ahmud Nizam Shah, Sooltan Koolly consented to ascend the throne in due form, and issued his mandate that the public worship should be read in the name of the twelve Imams throughout his territory. He was accordingly proclaimed king under the title of Sooltan Koolly Kootb Shah."^{*}

The allusion to the construction of the Fort occurs in the text simultaneously with the building of the city of Golkonda and the author among the various grand and noble buildings erected to adorn the city makes special mention of a Jami' Masjid. He writes—

"The architects—a match to Maani† in artistic taste—designed a Jami' Masjid on one side of the royal palaces, and completed its construction in a short time."[‡]

The Jami' Masjid referred to here is unmistakably the mosque, the inscription of which is noticed above. It is situated on a side of the royal palaces near the citadel and is called the Jami' Masjid to this day—thus completely answering the description given in the Qutb Shahi history. In view of the above data it seems to be probable that the fort and the city of

^{*} Briggs, iii, pp. 353-54, and Hyderabad MS., pp. 53-54.

† A Chinese painter of great repute, whose name freely occurs in Persian literature.

‡ Hyderabad MS., p. 55.

Golkonda were built about 924 A.H. (the date of the erection of the Jami' Masjid), and that Sultan Quli proclaimed himself king about the same time.

Now to show that this date of Sultan Quli's accession (924 A.H.) can be upheld on other grounds as well, I venture to put forward the following facts:—

(1) Sultan Quli joined the service of Mahmud Shah Bahmani in 1480 A.D.* The latter much appreciated the courage and valour of the young Turk and 'treated him as his own child.' Sultan Quli on his part proved himself a most loyal and devoted servant of his royal master—saving his life and empire at great personal risk on several occasions†, and ever holding allegiance to Mahmud Shah. To support the last statement I may once more quote the Qutb Shahi historian—

"Fifthly, Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk, who still (when Nizam-ul-Mulk, 'Adil Shah, 'Imadu-l-Mulk and Qasim Barid had declared their independence) continued his allegiance to the shadow of royalty which remained, retained possession of the province of Tulingana, making Golkonda his seat of government.‡"

Further—

"Sudr-i-Jehan, the author of the *Murghoob-ool-Koolloob*, says, he himself heard Sooltan Koolly

* Sultan Quli's uncle Amir Quli left India at the death of Amir Yaqub Aq Qoyunlu, which occurred in 1480 A.D. Sultan Quli joined the service of Mahmud Shah after his uncle left India. *Briggs*, iii, p. 342.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 343, 346, 347, 348 and 351; and Hyderabad MS., pp. 38, 40 and 43.

‡ *Briggs*, iii, 352, and the Hyderabad MS., pp. 51-52.

Kootb-ool-Moolk state that although invited by Kasim Bereed and Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk to seize by violence the Bahmuny districts in the vicinity of his government, he always refused* to do so."†

In view of these statements, it appears extremely probable that Sultan Quli did not declare his independence during the life time of his patron and royal master Mahmud Shah, considering it an act of ungratefulness.

(2) Mahmud Shah Bahmani died in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.)‡, and as about this time the Barid Shahis between whom and Sultan Quli no love was lost, had gained complete ascendancy at Bidar, the latter, probably found it a suitable occasion to proclaim himself king.

These facts coupled with the statement that Sultan Quli assumed regal titles after he had built the fort and the city of Golkonda, and the date given in the Jami' Masjid inscription, almost conclusively prove that Sultan Quli's accession took place some time in 924 A.H. (1518 A.D.), and not in 918 A.H. (1512 A.D.) as recorded by Firishta through lack of authentic information.

* The Persian word used in the text is *naestak karwan*, 'being not true to the salt.' Sultan Quli considered it an act of extreme disloyalty to aggrandize his power by the reduction of his master's territory. Cf. Hydembad MSS., pp. 51-52.

† Briggs, III, 392.

‡ The Quab Shahi historian in this case, unfortunately gives a wrong date, i.e., 912 A.H. (1506 A.D.), although the age (47 years) and period of reign (37 years) of Mahmud Shah as given by the above historian are absolutely correct. The date 924 A.H. is unanimously supported by contemporary writers and is also corroborated by the Golkonda inscription. Briggs, II, p.

Miscellaneous.

Date of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah's Death.

The real date of the death of 'Abdullah Qutb Shah, Sultan of Golkonda, which was discussed at the 7th September, 1917, meeting of the Society (*vide* this Journal, 1917, pp. 80-82) can be fixed beyond doubt from contemporary English factory records now preserved in the India Office, London, extracts from which have recently reached me.

The Mughal official history, the *Maasir-i-'Alam-giri*, p. 143, states that the death of 'Abdullah was reported to the Emperor Aurangzib, on 29 Sha'ban, 1086 A.H. (8 Nov., 1675, *old style*). The date of death inscribed on the King's tomb is 3 Muharram, 1083 (21st April, 1672).

Now, President W. Langhorne of the English factory of Fort St. George, writes to the Company on the dates 16th December 1672, and 13, 17 and 27 January 1673,—“The Moores upon the decease of the old King, old Nabob and most of the old Counsellours, all about the same tyme in Aprill last, and succession of the younger Mirza husband to the King's youngest of three daughters, but something of the Blood Royall, etc.,” (*Orig. correspondence*, No. 3721).

This proves that 'Abdullah died and was succeeded by his youngest son-in-law Abul Hasan

(who claimed to be connected with the blood-royal through his mother), in April 1672.

Next, we have a letter from the English factory at Masulipatam to the Company, dated 25th August 1673, which describes the affairs at Golkonda subsequent to "the decease of the late King and the accession of a young Arabian Prince related to him by marriage with his daughter,"—meaning Abul Hasan. (*Original correspondence*, No. 3838).

I can account for the mistake in the *Maasir-i-'Alamgiri* only by supposing that, as this book was written forty years after the event, the Delhi Padshahi archives on which it is based were in a state of disorder consequent on the decline and trouble following Aurangzib's death, or that certain events of one year of the long reign of Aurangzib were transferred to another year through the oversight of the compiler of the *Maasir-i-'Alamgiri*. (But the latter supposition cannot explain the difference of month).

JADUNATH SARKAR,
University Professor of History,
BENARES.

Note.—The epitaph on 'Abdullah Qutubshah's grave is the only source which furnishes the exact date of the King's demise (*Epigraphic Indo-Moslemica*, 1907-8, p. 26). And although it has been corroborated (to the extent of month and year) by the India Office records, Prof. Sarkar seems to attach more importance to the indirect but corroborative evidence of the latter than to the direct evidence of the epitaph which, so far as we know, is quite correct.

The *Maasir-i-'Alamgiri* gives the date when the news was communicated to Aurangzib, but does not supply the date of the occurrence of the event itself. The various reasons why the news of 'Abdullah's death could not be communicated to the Mughal emperor immediately are given in the last number of the Journal (pp. 81-2).

Editor.

Proceedings of the Hyderabad Archæological Society, 1917-18.

6th April, 1917.

A meeting of the Council of the Society was held
this day at the Town Hall, the following members
being present :—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.S.I., C.I.E. (in the chair).
2. M. A. N. Hydari, Esq.
3. G. E. C. Wakefield, Esq.
4. Ross Masud, Esq.
5. Dr. E. H. Hunt.
6. G. Yandani, Esq.

(2) (a) The regulations printed below were
framed for the award of the Pinhey Memorial
Medal :—

Regulations.

(i) The 'Pinhey Memorial Gold Medal' shall be
awarded triennially for the best work on Deccan
Archæology or History, in accordance with the sub-
joined conditions.

(ii) The competition shall be open to scholars
in any part of the world.

(iii) Competitors shall submit a thesis on any
subject chosen by themselves relating to Deccan

Archæology or History. The thesis should be an unpublished work or, if published, it should not have been published more than two years before its submission for the Pinhey Medal.

(iv) Theses for the first competition will be received up to the end of October 1918, and subsequently in the October of every year, i.e., in October 1921, 1924, and so on.

(v) If the selected thesis is an unpublished work, the Society, at the recommendation of the Council, shall have the right to publish it in the Society's *Journal*.

(vi) If in the opinion of the Council none of the theses submitted in any year are of special value, the Medal shall not be awarded in that year.

(vii) If the thesis is written in any language other than English, the competitor shall furnish an English translation thereof.

(b) Resolved that copies of these regulations be forwarded to eminent scholars and oriental institutions, and that they also be published in the Journals of learned societies.

(c) Further, it was decided that a copy of the regulations be sent to Lady Pinhey and that she be requested kindly to furnish the Society with a profile portrait of the late Sir Alexander Pinhey for the Medal.

(d) Resolved that tenders be invited for making a die of the Pinhey Medal. Any tenders that may be received will be laid before the Council at the next meeting.

(3) The question of housing Dr. E. H. Hunt's collection of antiquities was discussed, and it was decided that suitable furniture for the accommodation of the antiquities be purchased out of Rs. 10,000 grant sanctioned by His Highness' Government for the purchase of books and almirahs. For the selection and purchase of the furniture a committee consisting of the following gentlemen was appointed :—

1. M. A. N. Hyderi, Esq.
2. Dr. E. H. Hunt.
3. G. Yashani, Esq.

7th September.

A meeting of the Council of the Society was held this day at the Town Hall. The following were present :—

1. The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.B.I., C.I.E. (in the chair)
2. M. A. N. Hyderi, Esq.
3. G. E. C. Wakefield, Esq.
4. Fakhruddin Abusadi Khan, Esq.
5. Karamat Ullah Khan, Esq.
6. Dr. E. H. Hunt.
7. F. A. Bhaunani, Esq.
8. G. Yashani, Esq.

(2) The following were elected members of the Society :—

1. Sayyid Muhi-ud-din, Esq.
2. Nawab Mahmud Ali Khan.

(3) Dr. E. H. Hunt suggested that, as some officers at Secunderabad and Bolarum are interested in the work of the Society and are anxious to attend its meetings but cannot join as members on account

of the uncertainty of their stay in this locality, in future whenever a paper of special interest is to be read, notice of the meeting should be put on the notice boards of the following institutions :—

1. Nizam College.
2. Nizam Club.
3. Deccan Club.
4. Secunderabad Club.

It was resolved to act accordingly.

(4) The plans of the furniture for Dr. E. Hunt's collection of antiquities, with the estimates submitted by Messrs. Edwards & Co., were examined and the drawings approved. It was resolved that the approved plans be shown to Messrs. Wrenn Bennett & Co., and if their tenders are not more than 5 per cent. in excess, the work should be entrusted to them. Failing such an arrangement some other local firms may be tried.

(5) (a) The Secretary read a letter from Mr. Allan G. Wyon stating that the cost of a pair of dies for the Pinhey Memorial Medal bearing on one side a profile portrait of the late Sir Alexander Pinhey and on the other a wreath with inscription, would be about £63. The cost of a gold medal $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, inclusive of Morocco case would be £8 8s. Resolved that before entrusting the order for the preparation of the dies to Mr. Allan G. Wyon, the estimate for a die submitted by another English firm to the Director-General of Revenue be scrutinised.

(b) The Secretary also read a letter from Lady Pinhey in which she kindly agreed to send a profile portrait of the late Sir Alexander for the preparation of the Medal. Resolved that if the tender of Mr. Wyon after comparison with that of the other

firm, mentioned above, is found to be reasonable, Lady Pinhey may be asked to make over the portrait to Mr. Wyon direct.

(6) For the purchase of books and for the management of the Library a committee of the following gentlemen was constituted :—

P. H. Sturge, Esq.
Dr. E. H. Hunt.
G. Yandani, Esq.

Mr. P. H. Sturge is not a member of the Society, but his great experience and wide knowledge in the matter of books would make his assistance of great value. It was resolved, therefore, that he be asked to kindly act on the committee.

(7) The Secretary suggested that owing to the rapid increase in the correspondence of the Society with scholars and learned bodies it was desirable that a clerk be appointed who would also look after the loan of books from the Library. Resolved that as the need of a whole time man is not absolute as yet, the Society may pay an allowance of Rs. 15 to the Manager of the Town Hall furniture, who is to be appointed by the Public Works Department shortly.

A general meeting of the Society also was held this day, the following being present :—

| | |
|--|--------------------------|
| The Hon'ble Mr. S. M. Fraser, C.S.I., C.I.E. (in the chair). | |
| Nawab Imad ul-Mulk Bahadur. | Dr. R. Mallanna. |
| M. A. M. Hydari, Esq. | Dr. R. N. Coorlewalla. |
| G. E. C. Wakefield, Esq. | Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Esq. |
| Fakhr-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Esq. | Khan Bahadur Mirza, Esq. |
| Dr. E. H. Hunt. | H. W. Shawcross, Esq. |
| Major Khwarsa Jang. | Abdur Rahman Khan, Esq. |
| Karamat Ullah Khan, Esq. | A. G. McCloy, Esq. |
| P. A. Bhavnani, Esq. | G. Yandani, Esq. |
| Rev. Stainton Morris. | |

(2) Mr. A. G. McClay read a paper on Monsieur Raymond of Hyderabad, which was illustrated by some photographs. A discussion followed in which several members joined. Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk observed that the popular belief that the Maisaram Regiment was named after M. Raymond is not correct; the regiment took its name from the place where it was first recruited. The President in thanking Mr. A. G. McClay for his interesting paper, remarked that it dealt, purely from the historical side, with a critical period in the history of the Deccan: it was the time from which the ruler of Hyderabad could lay claim to the title of "Our faithful Ally." Had French influence continued to be predominant in the Court of the Nizam, the history of subsequent events would not have been as we know them. Raymond had built up the French power in these parts, and the activities of his career have been recorded; but no attempt has been made to explain the secret of his wonderful hold on the affections of the people generally. The President suggested that Mr. McClay should try to gather some information, from local traditions and family recollections, on this point.

17th October, 1917.

A meeting of the Society was held this day at the Town Hall, the President being in the chair and about forty members present. The Secretary read a paper on the temples at Palampet. A discussion followed in which the President, Messrs. Wakefield and Karamat Ulah Khan, and the lecturer took part. The paper was illustrated by some photographs and drawings.

9th March, 1918.

A meeting of the Council of the Society was held this day in the Society's rooms at the Town Hall. The following were present :—

Sir Stuart Fraser, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. (in the chair).

R. I. R. Glancy, Esq., C.I.E.

M. A. N. Hydari, Esq.

G. E. C. Wakefield, Esq.

Fakhr-ud-din Ahmad Khan, Esq.

R. H. Hunt, Esq.

Karamat Ullah Khan, Esq.

G. Yasdani, Esq.

(2) The following gentlemen were elected as Ordinary Members of the Society :—

(1) Pandit Hira Nand Shastri,
M.A., M.O.L., etc.

(2) M. H. Qazi, Esq., B.A. (Cantonment.)

(3) Sayyid Hashimi, Esq.

(4) Hamid Uddin, Esq., B.A.

(5) A. Majid, Esq., M.A.

(6) Dnyas Barani, Esq., M.A.

(3) The Secretary read a letter from Mr. P. H. Sturge, stating that he would be glad to give help in selecting books for the Society's library. Resolved that Mr. Sturge's advice be sought in the purchase of books.

(4) The estimates for the dies of the Pinhey Memorial Medal received from Mr. Allan Wyon, and Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston were scrutinized and as the charges of the latter firm were found moderate it was decided that they may be entrusted with the work of the preparation of the dies.

(5) The Secretary put up the draft of a letter to Lady Pinhey, requesting her to make over a profile portrait of the late Sir Alexander Pinhey to Messrs. W. and A. K. Johnston, for the preparation of dies. The draft was approved and it was resolved that the letter be issued under the signature of the President.

(6) A letter from Messrs. Bennett, Coleman & Co. was read in which the firm had referred to

two bills which were overdue. One of them amounting to B. G. Rs. 200 related to the 200 reprints of Dr. E. H. Hunt's paper on 'Hyderabad cairns'. As the reprints were prepared at the express request of Dr. E. H. Hunt, he agreed to settle the bill direct. The other bill related to the preparation of certain blocks to be inserted in Dr. E. H. Hunt's second paper on Hyderabad pre-historic antiquities. The President observed that as Dr. Hunt's paper will be published in the Society's *Journal*, the bill of Messrs. Bennett, Coleman & Co. be paid by the Society.

On Tuesday, a general meeting of the Society also was held: Mr. Ilyas Barani, M.A., LL.B., read a paper on "Life and labour in ancient India." A discussion followed in which the President, Mr. M. A. N. Hydari and the speaker took part. In this meeting Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, too, was to give a short discourse on the antiquities which he had collected during a tour in the Paloncha Taluqa. As Mr. Barani's paper occupied most of the time, Mr. Wakefield postponed his discourse but the antiquities were exhibited. The most interesting of them was a stone coffin, a huge monolith weighing several tons, and some coloured drawings which proved that the graves from which Mr. Wakefield had collected the antiquities were of the 'Cromlech' type.

15th April, 1918.

A general meeting of the Society was held this day at the Town Hall. Rev. E. W. Thompson of Bangalore gave a lantern slide lecture on "Old Mesopotamia," which was extremely interesting.

